

Monfieur RAPIN'S

Comparison

OF

THUCYDIDES

AND

LIVY

Translated into English.

OXFORD,

Printed by L. Eishfeld, for Andrew Pelfrey,
Bookseller. 1694.

cy Yusu 1852

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is now in the Press,
and will speedily be Publisht,
Rapin's Reflections upon History,
Translated by the same
Hand.

TO

William Inge

OF

THORP,

IN

STAFFORD-SHIRE, Esq.

Dear SIR,

WHat I here Offer You, I
choose to Pay as an In-
stance of my Gratitude, and as
Part of the Debt I owe to the
Honour of your long-continued
Friendship and Acquaintance;
Notwithstanding you might rea-
sonably Demand it on your own
Personal Account and Merit;
as being able to pass Sentence

THE EPISTLE

both on the Author and Translator, and to determine whether the Criticisms are well grounded, or the Translation just and proper. For you have not fail'd to Improve the Talent Nature has given you, by the Advantages of Study and Education; having a Mind Inquisitive and Curious, Penetrating, Solid and Retentive, averse to Sloth, and always Busy and Industrious: So that you brought to the University, a greater Stock of Sense, than many Gentlemen carry from it; and Built successfully upon the Grammar-Foundation, so well laid by your Excellent Master, a Superstructure of sound, rather than superficial Acquisitions. It was your distinguishing Prudence, for to wish to make
S G
Choice

DEDICATORY.

Choice of the best Company, as well as Books, thereby seasoning your Mind with a true sense of Learning, and good Manners; which thing alone, were there no other Engagements on you, had made you a Friend to the University and the Church, and a worthy Member of both; whilst others bringing nothing but Ignorance and their hereditary Vices hither; and conversing with none, but those of the like Stamp and Character, make the Debauchery of the Colledge the chief Topick of their Discourse when they have left it. Those being ever most forward to Revile the Universities, when from them, and in them were their greatest Scandal and Reproach. And now, Sir, though

a plentiful Estate calls off some part of your Thoughts and time from your Study, yet the choicest of both are still imploy'd upon your own Improvement; since you think it no less becoming a Gentleman to enlarge his Mind, than his Fortune, and to have his Head, than his House, richly Furnisht; upon which Account I shall not pretend, by the Present I here make you, to Inform you so much as Divert you, whenever you shall please to allow some of your leisure-minutes, in comparing the Copy with the Original. But if this Comparifon of the Two Best Historians, and Reflections upon History, shall either Provoke you to take Pen in Hand, or Assist you hereafter in Projecting a Piece of that Nature,

DEDICATORY.

I shall Merit more of the Publick, than will at first View be discover'd: However it may happen, I shall not fail of my Design, which was my own Satisfaction, in making, tho' a Poor, yet Real Acknowledgement of the frequent Favours you have Conferr'd on,

SIR,

Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

Magd. Coll. Oxon.

Apr. 12. 1694

T. TAYLOR.

THE
PREFACE.

I Must beg leave to Acquaint the Reader, in Two or Three words, with the Reason that induc'd me to enter on the Translation of *Rapin*; which probably might seem Unnecessary, since it had been formerly done, and was in the Hands of most People. But understanding it was Perform'd by several Persons, at several Times, and some of it carelessly enough, and that which was better out of Print; and being inform'd some parts of it had not hitherto been Translated, and desir'd to go over with it

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it again, to make it all of a Piece, and of more general Use, I thought my Pains would not be very ill Employ'd, if I Collected the scatter'd Parts of so excellent a Book, and reduc'd them into a Body: Especially since I might Advantage my self by the Failings and Mistakes of Others, and possibly, by imitating what was Good, and avoiding what was Bad in in them, make a tolerable Translation. I began with the Authors Treatises upon History, in his *Comparison and Reflections*; upon the Booksellers Information they had not been Attempted before: And because nothing was more seasonable than a Comparison of *Thucydides* and *Livy*, at a time when the former was Printing,
in

The Preface.

in an excellent Edition at the *Theatre*; nothing being more necessary to the thorow understanding any Author, than the Reading, together with him, the best Censures and Criticks that have been Wrote upon him. But it was a kind of Surprise to me, when I had finish't the *Reflections*, to find they had been ventur'd on before, by One *Davis de Kidwelli*, apprehending it would cost me a fresh Trouble, where I fell in with his Expression, to Change my own: But finding the Copy he went by to be the Original rough-cast and incomplete, before the Author had put his last hand to it; and that we seldome agreed in the way of expressing the same thing, I let Mine pass without
any

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any Alteration. I have been told too, by a Gentleman, he thought he had seen the other Part done; but not being able to get a Sight of it, I leave the *Comparison* to take its Chance: If it meets with a kind Reception, the rest shall speedily be Publisht; if not, I am not not so great an Enemy to the Bookfeller and my self, as as to throw my Pains, and his Money away to no Purpose. I have only this to add, That I would not be thought, because I have Translated the whole, to Believe it all: There are some few Reflections that smell too strong of the *Jesuite*; who, in Favour of his Church, falls into Partiality, whilst he is Declaring against it; but the Instances serve his Purpose

The Preface.

pose as well as if they were
True; and 'tis a Fault which
must be Pardon'd him, since
it cannot be avoided, be the
Man never so Learn'd, without
abandoning his Religion.

Church: It is meet with a kind
of reason, the rest shall be
by be Pardon'd; it not I am
not not to great an injury to
the Bookeller and myself, as

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the Influence of the Truth

The Author's Preface.

MY Design in Comparing these Two Authors, is only to make their Value better known; since I take them to be the most Proper of all others, to form a Man's Sense and Reason, in an Age, where both are better Cultivated and Improv'd, than in any other. Wherein, this may be said to the Commendation of our own Times, That we understand the Character of Ancient Authors better, and are more intimately Acquainted with their Mind and Meaning than our Predecessors.

The Difference between them and us is this, That greater Preensions were made to Learning in their Age, than ours. This was formerly so much in Fashion, that Elizabeth, Queen of England, Translated several of Sophocles's Tragedies; and Mary Stuart the Queen Dauphine, recited at the Louvre, in the great Guard-Hall, before the whole Court, a Latin Oration of her Own making; and the Chamellor of the Hospital, in the Reign of Charles the Ninth, was as well skill'd in Languages as a Professor of the Colledge-Royal. 'Twas the Genius of those Times, in which nothing was so much in Vogue, as a great Capacity

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and profound Reading: The Tongues were thorowly Studied, and Men betook themselves to reform the Text of Ancient Authors, by far-fetcht Interpretations; to subtilize upon an equivocal Term, and to found a Conjecture for the establishing a Correction. In short, they scrupulously adher'd to the literal Sense, because they were not able to reach the Spirit of the Author, and his Meaning; which now adays is done, Men being become more Rational, and less Learn'd; and greater account is made of good Sense, in the greatest Simplicity, than of an awkward and perverse Capacity of Mind.

Hereby it is we are arriv'd to a greater Intimacy with the Sentiments of the Ancients, and a more thorow Knowledge of their Writings: Which is so true, that all Men, never so little Impartial, must agree to it; and I may say without Vanity, I give a better Idea of the Spirit of Livy, for instance, in this little Piece I have drawn, than Gronovius has done in his last Edition, Printed at Amsterdam in the Year 1665; which contains a long, and exact History of the Manuscripts of the Historian, of the Editions put out from time to time, and of a Catalogue of those Men who have endeavour'd, by their Notes or Corrections, by their Reflections or Criticisms,

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to re-establish or augment him. There is not to be found, in all the Assistances he affords us, for the understanding this Historian, nor in all his other Commentators, so exact a Knowledge of his Character, as that which I give in this Volume, as little as it is. At least, I shall not spoil the fine Relish the World begins to have of good Sense, upon Reason's displaying its self to the Learn'd, in all the Extent of Solidity and Delicacy: Which is so thorowly settled in the Minds of Men at this day, that in all the Works, Recommended to us by the Merit of their Antiquity, the Preference is without Scruple given to a Man of good Sense, and little Learning, before a Man of Learning of an injudicious Character.

I am fearful however of Discouraging those who have no Genius for Writing, by desiring to Encourage those that have. For whatever Rules may be given for History, none can be prescrib'd more severe than those Thucydides and Livy have observed. After all, That which I shall say may be Serviceable to many Things; being design'd to destroy the Remainder of that Love of false Lustre, which still obtains, even in this Age, amongst Men whose Taste is not thoroughly purg'd and purify'd; so enlighten those who pretend to write with a

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Ray of sober Reason, which makes the Solid Character; to stop that current of Repute, some sort of Men still attribute to Flash and Words; to shew that 'tis from Things rather than Words, the Nobleness of Expression should be sought; to avoid that empty greatness of Discourse, as contrary to the real Dignity of Expression, as a too naked Simplicity; and to write in a sensible manner, by the right use of a correct and sober Reason, which is no where better learn'd, than from the Acquaintance with these Two Authors; for I know very few that are more proper to make a Man Rational, that reads them, if he reads them well: And though I should only say, that all the majesty of the Roman Commonwealth still reigns in Livy, after it has been more than 1900 Years destroy'd; and all the Purity of Reason of the Ancient Greeks appears the same still in Thucydides, as it was 2000 Years ago; yet this would be enough one would think, to excite the Curiosity of a generous Soul to know the Bottoms of them, according to their Merits. For in short, there probably never appear'd in any Work, more solid Reasons, accompanied with all the Force and Dignity of Discourse; nor good Sense deliver'd with a more exquisite Judgment, than in these Two Authors.

The

THE
COMPARISON
OF
THUCYDIDES and LIVY.

CHAP. I.

*The Design of the Work, and
the Difficulties of the Un-
dertaking.*

BESIDES that vast Difficulty there is, to establish standing Rules, whereby to judge of the Beauty of such Works as these which I am going to compare: There are many whose Opinion will be contrary to mine in the very Choice I have made of these Two Historians, as the most Accomplish'd in both Languages; because men are different in their Judgments, and humour-some in their Tasts of things: and 'twill

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be hard to convince them that a just Comparison can be made betwixt Two Authors, whose Works have nothing of Relation or Proportion to each other. For that of *Livy* is an Universal History, of a People who had the Sovereignty of the World, that takes in a space of more than Seven Hundred Years; and that of *Thucydides* is only a Fragment of a History, relating to a particular Nation, and of a War that lasted not Thirty Years in all: Such are the Difficulties that immediately offer themselves in the Execution of my propos'd Design; and it is troublesome to engage in't before this Point be clear'd.

For the first we need only understand what is the end of History, to be able to judge with some kind of certainty and distinction, of the excellency of a work of that nature. And for the second difficulty which respects the choice I have made of these two Authors, nothing can better justify it, than what I shall say in Commendation of them both. For not to tie my self to the testimonies of the Learned who have given their judgment of them before me, upon which I might build my own; nor to men-

mention *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, the most judicious Critick of them all; who calls *Thucydides*, the most perfect of the *Greek Historians*, assuring us that the ingenious of his time took him for the true pattern of writing History: Not to call in the evidence of *Quintilian* in favour of *Livy* whom he prefers before all the *Latin Historians*; nor to alledge the admiration they have both been had in, by all ages, where sound Sense hath had any sway or dominion; nothing can possibly afford us a better view of the ascendant these two *Historians* have above all others, than the Parallel which may be drawn betwixt them, to convince those that are doubtful in the matter. For the only *Greeks* that can pretend to completion with *Thucydides*, are in my opinion *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Polybius*: The rest deserve not to enter the Lists with him, as rising not to that grandeur and dignity which History requires.

Herodotus, indeed took a greater flight: His design including all that was nobly transacted in *Europe* and *Asia*, by the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* for the space of two Hundred Years was more fortunate

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than that of *Thucydides*; but the performance is no way answerable to the grandeur of the Subject. The too great ambition that *Author* had to please made him so careless of Truth, that *Plutarch* concludes his Falshoods alone would make a Volume: and his Integrity has been extreamly run down, by all that have examin'd it. He was of a temper too agreeable to have a Character that was solid, laborious, and fit for the discovery of Truth. He's of a superficial Genius that lays not stress enough on things to carry our Mind to the bottome of them. As to *Xenophon*, he is admirable for the sweetness of his Stile; but is too smooth, and too much upon the level; he hardly makes a step out of that *middle way*, which yet carries in it something noble and natural. *Polybius* is a kind of *Philosopher* of a penetrating Spirit, who lays out himself in Reasonings, and generally divests himself of the character of *Historian* to put on the *Politician*. The rest of the *Greeks* have nothing in them comparable to *Thucydides*.

There is still less Difficulty in respect of *Livy* among the *Latines*, the most

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accomplisht of whose *Historians* come not near him. *Salust* has scarce any thing that is finisht: What we have remaining of his History, is insufficient to give us a just notion of his Merit. There remains indeed enough to give us a good Opinion of him; but too little to found a Comparison on with *Livy*. *Cesar* (that in the most familiar way of expressing himself has retain'd that Dignity which became him, and writing in the lowest kind of *middle Style*, wants nothing of the fineness of the most *exact*) is no *Historian*. *Paterculus's* Piece, howbeit of a noble and delicate tast has too little *Body*, because it has too much *Soul*. *Tacitus* has an admirable *genius*; but he generally out-shoots the *sublime*: He is noble enough in his Thoughts; but is not Natural in what he thinks. 'Tis true he has abundance of Wit, but such sort of Wit that can not speak of *plain* things in a *plain* manner: for he is still politick and artificial in every thing he says. His work is not so much an *History* as *Reflections on History*: he busied himself in making Reflections, being forefall'd by others, who left nothing new for him to say, which deter-

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min'd him to that way he took, where-
in he succeeded, and made himself con-
siderable. *Quintus Curtius* has handled
a noble Theme with too florid and gay
an air, in terms too exquisite and far
fetcht, and too studied figures. In some
places he sports a little with his Subject,
forgetting the importance was such as
requir'd more Gravity. *Livy* alone has
fill'd up all the parts of a compleat *Histori-
an*. The greatness of his Subject is an-
swerable to his Style: he has matcht the
Grandeur of a People, whose History he
writes, with as noble a *Genius*: That
matter could not be treated, as became
its greatness, but in that manner he has
done it; who has been Master of all
the Beauties of Composition in such
height of perfection, as no Man else
has ever been so happy as to arrive to.

So then, all things well consider'd,
Thucydides has not only stood *unparallel'd*
among those *Greek Historians*, which
have been handed down to us, and *Livy*
been *surpass'd* amongst the *Latines*; but
both the one and the other have arriv'd
to such a pitch of Excellency as has ap-
pear'd in no *Historian* ever since. And all
succeeding Ages have as it were fall'n a
pro-

prostrate at their Feet, acknowledging them to be *Genius's* of the highest Order, destin'd to be Rules and Models to all others. Which will be made out, in that which follows, so as to be unexceptionable to all those who will have a little patience and attention.

For the third Difficulty I own it impossible to make a just Comparison of *two Authors*, and their History who have no relation to each other. But in respect of their *wit* and of their *temper*, of their *ways* and *manner* of writing, and all that belongs to Composition they may be compar'd; 'tis only herein they can be made the subject of a *Comparison*, and it is in this only that I *compare* them: But let us consider their *Persons* before we enter upon their Works.

CHAP. II.

A Comparison of their Persons.

THO' *Impartiality*, *Fidelity*, *Honesty*, and other *moral Virtues*, are not always necessary Qualifications of an *Author* in general: we may say

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notwithstanding they are extremely requisite to an *Historian* whose Sentiments should ever be honest and well-meaning. 'Tis necessary his Zeal for *Truth* be as Sacred to him as his *Religion*; that *Integrity* be his indispensable Rule; that *Honour*, love of *Equity*, and a *disinterested Meaning* shine in every thing he writes, and every thing he thinks. So that although it requires a prodigious stock of Parts to write *History* well; yet an *Historian* that is in search of Glory, and thinks to make himself Immortal, should be more solicitous to avoid the imperfections of *Will* than Understanding; the one being more Essential than the other. For 'tis not so much the Parts and great Capacity, as the Faithfulness of an Author which is regarded, when Men desire to be instructed how things have been managed and transacted in former times; since the best wrote History, take away the Credit of it, is no better than a Fable. But an *Historian* cannot himself be Faithful, unless he is an Honest man, disengaged of Prejudice, Interest and Passion. And these Qualifications require a niceness of Conscience, a greatness of Soul, and

a Courage above the common rate. Which probably gave occasion to that Roman to admire how it came into the head of one of Pompey's Freed-men named Otacilius to undertake, the first of his Rank, to write an *History*; because to carry on such an Attempt successfully there is requir'd a sort of *liberty* inconsistent with any thing *flavish* or cringing. A dishonest Man whose Soul is not of a make capable to distinguish false Glory from true, and who can be sensibly affected with other *Interests* than those of *Truth* and *Reason*, is the unfittest in the world to write an *History*. He will never be admitted into the belief of Mankind, who first gains not their good opinion of his *Probity*. So that *sincerity* stands him instead of all things, if he would be well receiv'd, and if *Wit* should sometimes chance to fail him, yet Principles of *Honour* and *Honesty* should never be deficient. This then is the first foundation for an *Historian*, as to his own concern. And these are the Principles on which I intend to examine these two Authors in what respects their *Persons* in order to compare them.

We

Primum omnium libertatium scribere Historiam oris non nisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam. Coru. Nep. in Fragmentis.

The Per-
son of *Thucy-
dides*.

We know nothing of certainty concerning the *Person* of *Thucydides* but what he himself has deliver'd in his *History*, that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he Married; that his Possessions were very great there, and that he purchas'd much esteem by the largeness of his Expences. For the rest Antiquity is almost silent in the matter. There is no question to be made but that he was of an honourable Extraction, which, *Marcellinus* who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this Great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace* pretending that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father took the Name *Olorus*, and that he reckon'd amongst his Ancestors *Miltiades* and *Cimon* those Two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate that *Thucydides* when a Youth hearing *Herodotus* read his *History*, at the Solemnity of the *Olympick* Games, fell a Crying, through a gallant Jealousy, and a sense of Emulation. Which gave occasion to *Herodotus* to Complement the Father of the young Gentleman, as giving an infallible earn-

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est of his future Glory: In short he was an *honest* Man; the severity of his *Morals* and his *Piety* are to be seen in several places of his Works, where he ever talks like a man of excellent Principles, never advancing of his own Head any Maxim of dangerous consequence. And his Discourse carries always in it a Masculine air of Vertue. Take for an Instance what he says of a famous Commander, that was put to Death by the *Syracusians* after his Defeat. *Thus fell Nicias, who of all his Contemporaries least deserv'd to dy in such* Libro 7. De Bella. Pelop. *a manner as having always been a zealous Worshiper of the Gods.* And by the Character of his Integrity, which appears in all his Writings he discovers the true bottom of his Heart, and the Purity of his Manners, which is the Quality *Aristotle* chiefly requires in a 2^{da}. l. 3. c. 7. Discourse: when he says it can never be agreeable to the Subject, when 'tis insufficient to give you the *manners* of the Speaker: and a Discourse is nothing worth where the *manners* of the man are naught; for 'tis a Rule that one should be conformable to the other. Which is the particular Character of this

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this *Author* who never fails to create a good Opinion of himself in the Minds of those that read him.

Anaxagoras was his Master in *Philosophy*, and *Antiphon* in *Rhetorick*, by both which his Mind was form'd in that solid and sensible manner to those Studies which lay the main Foundation of his Character. But as excellent as he was at these Sciences, he however knew the *World* better than *Books*. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Acibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the Great Men of that Age, which was the Politest, and of the finest Taste that has ever been among the *Greeks*, gave the finishing stroke, so as to fit his Mind with these noble Idea's and Principles, which make an absolute *Gentleman*, and an accomplished *Historian*: For besides that no man ever wrote in a more *brave* and disinterested manner, without the least reserve to his Resentment: he has moreover said nothing, but withal imaginable Candor. He was so utter an Enemy to all manner of *disguise* that he could not away with any thing that should, I don't say wound, but give the least Offence to Truth, never advancing

ing any Maxime that lookt not towards the *Good* of the *Publick*, the Love of which was engraven in his Heart. He was so tender and scrupulous of *honour*, that he has not fail'd in his *History* to treat the *Athenians* well, even those at whose Hands he had receiv'd the greatest Indignities : concealing nothing which might be to the Advantage of *Cleon* and *Brasidas* the principal Authors of his Banishment.

For it was principally through the Intrigue of *Cleon* his Rival, that he was Banisht his Country, for not having succour'd *Amphipolis* whither he was commanded : and it was during his Exile that he wrote his *History*, finding more leisure, and better instructions in the Enemies Affairs, amongst whom he liv'd, as he declares in his Fifth Book ; in which he speaks of his Banishment, and his Retirement among the *Lacedemonians*, by whose means he got acquainted with the Mystery of Affairs, which he had no possibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he Married bringing him a vast Fortune, he made use of it to collect his *Memoirs* ; and he disburs'd considerable Sums to the

the *Lacedemonian* Commanders to be instructed in the Truth of those things which his own *Party* for their own *Interest* had disguis'd. The Passion he had for Study, and the Pleasure he took in it, made his ill Fortune sit easier upon him, by giving him Resolution: 'Tis not known that he ever attempted his Restoration; the Honours that were due to him seem'd *odious*, since he thought it a *shame* to ask them; and having thro' Modesty never been forward, before his Exile, to make his way up to the Helm, he thought himself now utterly incapable of doing it, being suspected by the *Citizens*. He retreated to *Egina* a small Island of *Peloponnesus*, where he began to work upon his History: His Exile lasted Twenty Years, and he Died before he had finish'd it. 'Tis his great Glory to have said nothing against his *Conscience*, as *Dionysius Hallicarnassensis*

*Dion. Halic. in
Jud. de Thucyd.
lib. 9.*

assures us in his own words, and that was One of his more special Qualities. *Cicero* gives him almost the same Encomium: and 'tis the Testimony the *Learn'd* of all *Antiquity* have given of him, who have extoll'd his Sincerity above

*Thucydides rerum
gestarum pronun-
ciator sincerus.*

bove his other Vertues. He had the Fortune to serve his Country both with his *Sword* and *Pen*; being engag'd in most of the Expeditions he *Describes*. And having, through the Employes the *Republick* had intrusted him with, obtain'd an intire Knowledge of the Affairs of his own Country, as well as the Interests of the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth, for the Particulars of which he was wholly oblig'd to his Exile: This gave him opportunity of preparing himself for his Undertaking with a Diligence which scarce had its Precedent. And it may be said, never *Historian* took *Pen* in hand better furnish'd with Instructions, which he collected out of the different Interests of the Two Nations whose History he undertook. It may be farther added, that never Author had a greater Passion for Vertue, or a greater Aversion to Injustice than *Thucydides*. He Died in *Thrace* in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, before his Work was finish'd. *Xenophon*, who Compleated it, adjoin'd the War of *Sicily*, and the other Wars of *Greece*, to enlarge his History. This is all we have been able to gather concerning the Person of *Thucydides*; for his

his Historian *Marcellinus* has rather given us the History of his *Mind*, than of his *Life*.

The Person
of *Livy*.

We are still more in the dark as to the Particulars of *Livy's Life* than that of *Thucydides*: For whether he had a greater Unconcernedness for Publick Business, and his own Promotion; or had more of the *Philosopher* than *Thucydides*; whether he was of a more studious Constitution, and was destin'd to live retir'd in Silence and Obscurity: certain it is we know very little of his Origin, his Employments, his Adventures, or the condition of his Fortune in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*, contrary to *Sigonius's* Opinion, who would have him Born in a Village near that Town, call'd *Apona*, producing for this the pretended Testimony of *Martial* in one of his Epigrams. 'Tis plain too he was of an *honourable* Family, since it had the Honour of sending out *Consuls* of the *Roman Commonwealth*. That he liv'd under the Empire of *Augustus*; that he Dedicated some Dialogues to him, upon the *Questions debated in those Times* relating to *Philosophy*, whereby he got into that Emper-

petors acquaintance, and good opinion; that he also wrote a Treatise of Eloquence to his Son, which *Quintilian* made great account of; that he began his *History of Rome* for the convenience of such Memorials as were necessary, which were Recorded in the *Annals* in the Capitol; and for the better distinguishing *Truth* from *Fable* & Tradition, wherewith the *Origins* of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired some time after to *Naples*, to avoid disturbance in his Study; that he looked to *Augustus* and *Mecenas* four parts of his *History*, wherewith they were sensibly affected: that *Mecenas* upon the esteem he conceived of him, made choice of him for a Tutor to form the mind of his young Son *Claudius* who afterwards was Emperor. *Pliny* the Younger says the reputation of this great Man began already to make such a noise in the *Roman* World, that a *Savage* who came to *Rome* from the farthest part of *Spain* purposely to see *Livy*, whose *Reputation* had spread it self far and near in his own Country.

The Comparison of

After the death of *Augustus* he return'd to *Rome*, where the Citizens received him with extraordinary honours. He dy'd in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*. His abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Augustus*, gave him opportunity of furnishing himself with Knowledge necessary to his Design. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, so fixt him to his Closet and gave him so little disquiet for the Concernments of his Fortune, that his Life thereby became a little obscure: being he was Oblig'd to sequester himself from a more publick Conversation, and live private, that he might give himself wholly up to that grand Work he had in hand. He must needs have had a Soul prodigiously great, to form the project of so vast and laborious an Enterprize. For in short what ever *Genius* a man has; 'tis only a greatness of Spirit can produce those exalted and generous Sentiments that make the beauty and excellency of a noble Work.

Livy also was One of the Worthiest Men of all *Antiquity*. We need only read him, to think well of him, his man-

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ner of Writing ever giving us a great Idea of his Probity. You would conclude from his air of Speaking that he knew not what *Caesar* was. He has not only never spoken of himself, nor any thing that belongs to him, in his *History*: but likewise we had been ignorant in what times he Wrote, had it not been for a word that by chance escap'd him, concerning the Temple of *Janus*, which was now shut, says he, by *Augustus*, having been so but once before, since the Reign of *Numa*. He began his *History* in a strain of Modesty, which seems so Admirable to me, that I cannot believe a discreeter Author ever appeared in the World. See what is the Scope of that *History* which has been the most absolute Master-piece of Antiquity, and the Admiration of all Ages. I am uncertain whether the *History* I write of the Actions of the Roman People, from the Foundation of Rome, will be a Work worth any consideration, and tho' I were persuaded of it, I durst not say it: for it is a matter &c. The

rest of that *Exordium*, which I offer not to Copy, since 'tis in the hands of all Men, is answerable to the beginning, and is sufficient to shew the Spirit of the Author. Never Man promis'd so little in Beginning a Work that promis'd so much. He comes not without trembling to the opening his Design, Diffident of his own strength, in the sustaining so great an Enterprize. But 'tis only in order to give us more that he suffers us to hope so little; he is not timorous, but because he is wise, and ordinarily a Man is no farther Modest than he is Judicious. And this Character of Modesty is the finest amongst all the Qualities of an Author, that is Meditating some great thing; nothing creates a greater notion of his Judgment than his Distrust. It is a proof of his Capacity that he is sensible of the weightiness of his Subject, and 'tis the greatest Testimony can be given of the Honesty of an Historian. For what a Fund of Discretion and good manners must he needs have that can silence all Pride so natural to Mankind, and do himself Justice without Flattery. See wherein Lips is worthy of Admiration as soon as he opens his Lips. But after

he has given us so mean an Opinion of himself by the small Regard he makes of his own Performances, he lets us in- to a multitude of Lights, he discovers a profoundness of Mind, an extent of Ge- nius, a fruitfulness of Imagination; in- fine, a Thousand Beauties, and infinite Treasures, which we attend not to, when we only ~~allow~~ upon what he promis'd us.

For his Sincerity it Underwent the severest Trial, that possibly could be, without being Corrupted. The Repu- tation he was in with *Augustus*, and that Favour to which he had advanc'd him, were not Motives sufficient to hinder his speaking Honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but also *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the great- est Enemies of that *Emperor*; honour- ing the Memory of the Conquer'd in the Face, as one may say, of the Conqueror; and Recommending to the World, as Honest Men, the Murderers of *Cæsar*, in the Presence of *Augustus*; because they were Lovers of their own Country. 'Tis this which *Cicero* thought impos- sible to be sufficiently Praised in *Titus Livy*, as we are assur'd by *Tacitus*. Such was *Livy* for his Moral Accom-

plishments, and what respects his Person: and it seems that something had been wanting to the *glory*, or rather the good fortune of a People that was Master of the World, had they sail'd of so great a Man for their *Historians*. 'Tis that which has doubtless occasion'd that Famous *Inscription* found at *Padua* in the Year One Thousand Four Hundred and Thirteen, in the Church of *St. Justina*.
Offa Titi Livii Patavini omnium mortalium
judicio digni, ejus prope invicti calamo,
invicti populi Romani res gesta conscribentur.

Thus then we see Two truly *Vertuous Historians*: But to conclude this Head, the Vertue of *Thucydides* seems more Admirable than that of *Livy*. The former has afforded a kind Treatment even to his *Enemies*, who could not make him abate the least of his Integrity: and the Vertue of the later soar'd not quite so high, since it went no farther, than causing him to speak well of the *Enemies* of *Augustus* his *Protector*. This is what may be Collected of the Persons and Morals of both *Historians*: Let us now examine their Intellectual Vertues, which we cannot know better than by a Comparison of their *Characters*. CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Comparison of their Characters.

AS the *Lines* of a Face are expos'd to view, so 'tis no hard matter to discover them; but the *lineaments* of a Mind from whence proceed the differences of a *Style*, and *Character*, are so Obscure and Imperceptible, that without a very singular *Insight*, nothing of them can be known. Take however what Ancient Authors have left us of *Thucydides*, who were best able to know his Character,

He has a mind so Solid, and well Founded, that he speaks nothing but what is well thought, and correct; nothing but what has all the Nerves and Strength, his Subject is capable of receiving. And whereas he always arrives at the truest Sense, and purest Reason, troubling not his Head about the Ornaments of Discourse, his way is usually somewhat dry, yet strong and lively;

The Character of Thucydides.

because he is concise and close in his Expression. 'Twas from that great strength of Parts that he Studied to include so much Sense in so few words, and talking less than others, that he often said a great deal more.

Opinion of him in these words. *Thucydides in dignity of Style, and he are of Excellence of in my Opinion goes far beyond all that have Wrote, he abounds so with Matter that his thoughts are almost equal in number to his Words, and he is so expressive and close in what he says, that its hard to say whether his words set off the things, or the things his words set off.* This is what makes him so very Sententious in respect of other Historians: and is the cause that his Sense, straitned and confin'd in so few words, becomes something Obscure, because it wants that Liberty and Compass requir'd to make it Natural and Easy. His Style is Exalted, Noble and Sublime, which is the reason of his using so frequent and so bold Metaphors, in pure Political terms, yet better than those of Plato, and hence he arriv'd to that

that grandeur of Expression which reigned so strongly in his Writings: in which he is ever great, without being extravagant, in his Thoughts; always Natural, yet falls not into any thing vulgar or common. This he took from *Homer*, whose Imitator he perfectly was. He propos'd him for a Pattern in his simple though noble Expression, and almost in the whole Order of his Discourse, that is lively and animated. *Marcellinus* adds, that he betook himself to *Demetrius* of the *Island* for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgias* of *Leontium* for Order and Disposition. And besides that, this *Hibernian* form'd himself upon *Pindar* for the Sublime Style, and the Greatness of Expression, which was his Excellence.

He had also learnt of *Socrates*, by the acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a Frank and Ingenuous Narration, which he was so well accusom'd to, and which procur'd him the gift of persuasion in so high a measure: true it is that never any Man knew how to use his Reason better, or to make it more prevalent by those means, but from and pressing Turns he gave it in this manner. He so far transcend'd the

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rest of *Authors*, speaking nothing but what was Essential to his Design. This it is that gives that Weight, Force and Dignity to his Discourse. He is indeed sometimes a little irregular in his Narrations, but 'tis always an Effect of *art* more than *disorder*. 'Tis only to *inspire* what he says, and to *paint* things in a more *lively* manner, that he expresses as *present*, what is *past*, and as careless as he seems in certain places, he still preserves a justness of Expression couch'd in his words, so as nothing in the World is more natural than his Eloquence, or more *finely* Natural: His way of reasoning by frequent *Emphymes*, which *Demosthenes* has so well Copied, is strong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air of his which makes his distinguishing Character. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* concludes him to be the first *Inventor* of that way, which has set him so far above all other Writers. We find in the end of that *Critick's* Discourse, to *Tabero*, the places wherein *Demosthenes* has best express'd the force and grandeur of *Thucydides* in his imitation. 'Twas upon this great Model that noble *Orator* was form'd, so which

which he apply'd himself with that exceeding Industry, as to Transcribe this *Authors History* eight times over, to take his Character, and Copy out his Excellence, as we are assur'd by his Commentator *Ulpian* the *Rhetorician*. And it was chiefly in his Declamations against *Philip* of *Macedon* that *Demosthenes* irritated that Historian; and in the places where he speaks of the Republicks of *Corinth*, *Carcyra*, and of the *King* of *Persia*, and in such other Subjects as had reference to those *Demosthenes* had to treat of.

In fine *Thucydides* had a nobleness of Thought, a choice of Words, a boldness of Imagination, a vigour of Discourse, a profoundness of Reasoning, a neatness of Conception, a firmness of Stroke, Colour and Expression, which none of the other *Greek Historians* have been Masters of; which gave the most Ingenious *Criticks* amongst the *Ancients* reason to acquaint us, he took the true Style, History ought to be Wrote in: And indeed whatever he says, whatever passes through his Mind, receives a Turn of Greatness and Beauty beyond what any others can afford us. He is a Genius of an order above the common Standard, that conceives

every

every thing Nobly, and gives a sort of Elevation to the most ordinary things. This so solid Character of mind gave him an exquisite *relish* for what was excellent, an admirable *sagacity* in the choice of things, an obstinate *adherence* to *Truth*, (which made him a Critical observer of every thing any ways conducive to the discovery of it) and an incredible *aversion* to any thing that was an offence to *probability*; ever endeavouring more to *profit* than *please*, as he declares himself at the beginning of his Work. Hence he became so careful and scrupulous as to *throw off* many of those Ornaments his Subject might have wore; as his *Historian* has observ'd, *to the end* he might avoid those famous *Baits*, on which want of Discretion cast *Herodotus*, as *African* and his *Dolphin*, with the rest of his fabulous *Adventures*. And 'tis on this account also that all *Antiquity* has had so great an Opinion of *Thucydides*. But after all, this *great Man* seems to be in nothing worthier of Admiration, than in his Treating of the *manners* of Men, as one that excellently understood *Man-kind*,

kind, and had all the *penetration* requisite to unfold the most intricate *doublings* of the Heart: 'Twas from this profound Knowledge, he could so well discover the *spring* and *sources* of the nicest Interests, and the most imperceptible *movements* of the secretest Passions that set Mankind on work: 'Twas through the *shredacks* of his eyes, that he stor'd his mind with those grand *Maxims* of the *publick* good, and all those *political* Considerations wherewith his *History* abounds: and upon which he built his principal Reasonings for the establishing of States, and continuing them *establish'd*. From this so vast, and rich Fund, 'tis he draws out those *noble sentiments*, and *admirable reflections* he makes upon the management of the People, and conduct of their *Governments*, and from whence he deduces those excellent *principles* that are the first Foundations of that *Equity* and *Justice* which make *happy* States; and those sound *political* and *moral* *Maxims*, which serve for Rules to guide Men in their duty. Hence 'tis he Circumstances every thing with so much Distinction, keeping close to *reality*, Particulars, and cutting of what

what is *useless* or *superfluous* to the Subject. Hence he takes those lively, affectionate and pathetical *descriptions*, that Embellish his Discourse: from hence it is he forms the project of his *Narratives* of Battles, Sieges, Assaults, Defences, warlike Expeditions, popular Commotions, and all those Agitations that usually happen in Common-wealths, through the nature of their Government, which are ever judiciously Circumstand'd. To conclude, 'tis from that *rich-treasury* of the knowledge of Mens manners he has taken all those *Rules of decency*, which teach him to represent all Conditions, Persons and Actions as their Quality and Capacity demand; and from whence he has form'd that *wonderful art* of Eloquence that renders him absolute Master of those he speaks to, in perswading them whatever he desires. 'Tis by this Art he engages and *fixes* the mind of his Reader upon the *action* he describes, by so dazzling Colours and lively Images representing to his Eyes, as it were, rather than his Understanding the things he speaks of, moving his Passion, raising his Attention, and filling him full of the matter he's expressing: whilst the Mind

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dragged along with a pleasing kind of violence, lets go its hold, and is willingly carried away by the *Impetus* of the current, for the better attending to the Impression.

But though all *Authors* indifferently make use of the *same* Terms and the *same* Expressions, yet each has a *peculiar* Character, because the order and management of his Discourse is different; as every *Painter* has a *particular* way, tho' all have the *same* Colours. Take then the *Character* of *Livy*. He had, together with all the Accomplishments of *Thucydides*, in which he equally excell'd, an advantage of *Nature* above him, a natural *Felicity* for all things fine and great, wherein he had a *Palace* extraordinary delicate. He had an exquisite Faculty of expressing his Thoughts nobly, an admirable *Genius* for Eloquence in general, that is, for the *power* of Discourse, for a *fluency* of Speech, for the *clarity* of Expression, and a certain *elevation* of Soul, that made him most fortunate in his Imagination. He was to complete these Qualifications, choice in his Words, just in the order of his Discourse, great in his Sentiments, noble and proportion-

The Character of *Livy*.

por-

portionate in the Disposition and universal *Order* of his Design: he was in short Master of all the *Rhetoric* of History: For History has a peculiar *Rhetoric* of its own, and this *Rhetoric* has its Rules. *Quintilian* says his Style is *free* and *fluent*, that it has a greater Tendency to *Solidity*, than *flow* and *lustre*; and is most pleasing to those who had rather be *affected*, than *deceiv'd* and *amaz'd*. His Air is great and noble in its *simplicity*, and he has a *softness* of Expression, ever supported with much *force* and Majesty. His Discourse is *animated*, in so lively a manner, as suffers nothing to *droop* or languish. And the *turn*, the *variety*, the *grace* he gives to all he says, the *softness* of his Words, the *clearness* of his Sense, every thing he has is *admirable*. Perhaps there was never *Historian* more Engaging by the Talent he had of Expressing Nature to the Life, and giving her a *different* Face, as became her several Conditions, painting her always in her proper Colours, making every Passion speak its *Genuine Language* that it might have its effect upon the Mind. Hence it is

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he's so incomparable at *painting* the *manners*, that his *Potraits* are so *like*, that he *expresses* every thing in the *features* that become it, never *confounding* those Beauties which Nature has distinguished.

He eminently exceeds the rest of the *Historians* in that perfect Knowledge he has of all *decorums*, which is a Science indispensably necessary to a Man that will write *History*, since nothing carries a *face* of Truth, but from an exact Observation of what is *agreeable* to each particular. See how he distinguishes the *different Ages* of the Commonwealth, by the *difference* of Spirit and Manners that reign'd in it. 'Tis by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preserve their Characters so well in this *Author*; where nothing is touch'd in the same manner, or wrote in the *same tenour*. From hence it is that *Rome* could speak otherways under *Kings* and *Tribunes*, than in the Reigns of the *last Consuls* and *Emperours*: that every one in that History stands mark'd with a *distinguishing* Character. The Historian often changes the *Style* its self. His Discourse has *authority* when it *Instructs*, it has *sweetness* and *compassion* when it *Perfwades*, *neatness* when it *Re-*
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C lates

The Comparison of

lates, is *graceful* and *Elegant* when it would Please, is *fervent*, *moving* and *pathetical* when it would Affect. He is *moral* and *instructive* where it is requir'd, giving Lessons to the whole World, and at the same time seeming to do nothing less.

Finally the *length* of his *period*, which many are apt to reproach him with, is in my Judgment one of his greatest Advantages: 'tis this only that makes him *majestical*. For a long and ample *Style* never wants *majesty* when it is, like his, bore up with good Sense, and an exquisite Choice of Words. After all, the World has never been able to discern his Method. He has a secret Art couch'd under a seeming Plainness and *simplicity*, which makes him appear *natural* throughout his Work. He is particularly sure to practise that Art, in that which seems to have its dependance most on Nature; carefully shunning all manner of *affectation*, and Studying always to be *simple*: 'tis by this *stately* and *familiar* way together, which is the most usual Ornament of his Discourse, that he *strikes* the Soul with those wonderful *impressions*, that he *shakes* and Agitates it as he pleases, that his sentiments *break in* upon you through
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the force of his words, (the strength of which he very well understood,) and that he always moves those whom he is speaking to by the natural *energy* of his Expression. This Quality renders him as *vehement* in his great passions, as *soft* and agreeable in the *less*, giving the former a more *active* and lively Mein, and *smoothing* over the latter with a *gentle* and tender Touch. Indeed the Genius he had for the Nobleness of Expression, and the Art he had to manage it so dextrously, and imploy it upon occasion, accustomed him to raise himself upon any great Event. 'Twas here he took a kind of Pride to set forth, as one may say, and shew the most rare and conceal'd Riches of his Soul, in their full Capacity. What Draughts, what Paintings, does he then give you, when the Greatness of his Theme, at once excites him, and furnishes him with those admirable Opportunities, he knew how to make the best of! And it is in those *favourable* and *naturally* lofty Topicks, that he raises and ennobles his Discourse, by those great Ideas with which his excellent *Genius*, for the *sublime* and majestick Style inspires him, which is his very Character.

'Tis in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the most in use, but the most Glittering and Harmonious, which add a Lustre to all the other Beauties of Discourse, He excites in the Mind of his Readers, an *admiration* mingled with Surprize, which is quite another thing than the Pleasure that accreus from meer Perswasion.

I acknowledge *Thucydides* has much of this Character, I know likewise that *Longinus* reckons him amongst the Models he proposes of the *sublime*, that he has a natural Happiness at Expressing things *nobly*, that he even *stamps* the image of the Object he describes upon the very Words: that the frequency of his *figures*, especially the *hyperbaton*, which he uses in his *narration*, gives more heat and action to his Discourse, by transposing things, and changing the natural order of the time, as a means to keep the Mind close to the Subject he represents in so *lively* Colours; that his *sublime* is ever sustain'd by a *greatness* of Sense, and a *vigour* of Expression; and that he has throughout his manner of Writing, a kind of *loftiness* that strikes the Mind. For none but those who have a solid way

way of Thinking are able to *elevate* a
 a Discourse. But it must be confess'd
 that the *sublime* of *Thucydides* is less ma-
 nag'd than that of *Livy*, who knows as
 well to *stoop* in lesser things, as to mount
 and *soar* in greater, and to give those
 Flourishes and Graces to his Discourse,
 which *Thucydides* never thought of.
 Which made *Dionysius Halicar-* L. B. de Critic.
 massensis say, That *Thucydides* Verb. num. 29.
 was always beautiful indeed, but scarce
 ever agreeable: for he distinguishes the
gracefulness from the *beauty* of a Dis-
 course. 'Tis the *cadence*, the *harmony*, the
elegance, the *fineness*, the *sweetness*, the
lustre and *order*, and the proper *decorum*
 of a Subject, that he will have to make
 a Discourse *graceful*; and 'tis in the *gran-*
deur, the *nobleness*, the *majesty*, and the
gravity, he makes the *beauty* to consist:
 the *grace* and *Mein* is generally the effect
 of Parts and Nature, *beauty* is often the
 Product of Art; the one is the *gift* of Hea-
 ven, and the other the *effect* of Study.

'Tis herein, almost, consists the *dis-*
ference there is betwixt our These Livies in
 Livy is fine two Historians. *Livy* is fine
 and agreeable to a Miracle; he quodammodo Floridus
 et copiosus
 knew how to *strew* his *flowers* in the places
 that

that needed them: he had likewise a happy Faculty of *managing* his Ornaments, and *embellishing* his Discourse; which Advantage Nature had not bestow'd upon *Thucydides*, who is *fine* without caring to be agreeable; that *austerity* of Temper, which is so natural to him, that *severity* of Way, that *stiffness* of Sense, that *correctness* of Reason, and that prodigious *seriousness* he Wrote with, made him diligently avoid those *charms* of Language, which he disapprov'd in *Herodotus*. The beauty of *Livy* is of a lovely and tender make: The beauty of *Thucydides*, is stately, austere, and ancient, as *Dionysius* himself calls it. Dionys. in lib. 1. de Thucyd. The one is always noble, and the other talking. The one eyes himself dryly to his Matter, which he precisely pursues; the other gives an agreeable Form to every thing that goes through his Mind. And this is it wherein the essential Difference of their Characters consists. Let us examine the *subjects* both of them have work'd upon, and compare them likewise in that particular, that nothing may be wanting to a just Comparison.

CHAP. IV.

*The Comparison of the Subjects
of their History.*

THucydides having so great a Genius,
'twas impossible he should con-
ceive any mean Design. So lofty a Mind
could not admit low and groveling Ideas.
The Peloponnesian War, which he under-
took to Write, was at that time, the
most curious Subject of History in being;
Dionysius Halicarnassensis assures us too,
that he preferr'd it before that of *Herodotus*.
And he says, That having laid be-
fore him for a Model, the Two most ce-
lebrated Historians of his Time, *Herodo-
tus* and *Hellanicus*, he found fault with
the subjects each of them had taken. *Hel-
lanicus's* Design, who had attempted to
write the History of Athens, lookt too
uncompounded, too narrow, and of too
little Action. *Herodotus's* History, which
contain'd the Wars the Grecians wag'd
against the Kings of Persia, that is to say,
all the Memorable Actions that hap-
pen'd

The Subject
of Thucydi-
des.

The Comparison of

pen'd in *Europe* and *Asia*, for Two Hundred Years space, seem'd too vast and unweildy. He thought so great an Object very disproportionate to the Mind of Man, unable to comprehend in his Thought so mighty a Project ; Upon which he mistrusted his own Abilities, despairing in the *thread* of a Discourse, to give that due *Connexion* so different Matters would require, which of themselves seem'd too Extravagant and Incoherent.

So having thought upon his Design, he pitcht upon a middle and a moderate way, choosing a Subject capable of being bounded in a less compass than that of *Herodotus* ; and of receiving a greater extent than *Hellanicus's* : Engaging Himself in the History of the *Peloponnesian War*, which continued Seven and Twenty Years. But to ascend to the Fountain head of that War ; it Comment'd upon the occasion of the War betwixt *Corinth* and *Corcyra*. *Peloponnesus* is a kind of Peninsula in the *Archipelago*, formerly going by the name of the Country of *Argos*, and now of the *Morea*. The *Corinthians*, the more potent People of the Two, being attackt by the *Corcyreans*, who

who were the ancient *Phœnicians*, the *Athenians* engag'd in their Interest, and the *Lacedemonians* took the *Corinthians* into their Protection. The two Republicks *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, were then in the most flourishing Condition they were ever known in ; and as their Power was arriv'd to the highest pitch, and their respective Grandeur gave a mutual Jealousy of each other , that War was a kind of Dispute betwixt them for the *Empire of Greece*.

The *Athenians* began to be suspected by the *Lacedemonians*, under the government of *Pericles*, who was become the Favourite of the *People*, by his popular Behaviour. He had the absolute Administration of the Affairs of *Peace* and *War* in the Republick for Forty Years together, and by that admirable Talent he had in *Oratory*, becoming an *incontrollable Sovereign* in *Athens*, he made that City formidable to the rest of the Common-wealths of *Greece*, by the several Embassies he caused it to depute either upon its real, or pretended Interests : which thing rendring that Republick so highly considerable in all the Countries round about, caus'd the *Lacedemo-*

The Comparison of

demonians first to take the Allarm; and these two States exasperated by a long Emulation, began to dispute the Sovereign Power, by a formal War they declar'd, for which the War of *Coryra* and *Corinth* was only a Pretense. All Greece was concern'd, and most of the Neighbouring People engag'd in the Quarrel, which became the most Famous in the World, and they sided according as their different Interest, or different Pretensions carry'd them, to this or that Party.

Thucydides reflecting in his Exile on that famous Dispute betwixt Two of the most *polite* and *warlike* People in the World, found nothing that could better imploy his Leisure than the Writing of their History: And being resolv'd upon it, consulting his own Breast, he found he had sufficient Strength to write what he knew himself, and what he could collect from those who had bore a part in Affairs in a Controversy of that Importance, so as to give a good Account of it to Posterity. It is true, the different Temper of the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, that uniform Conduct he observ'd in *Lacedemon*, for the continuance of the same

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Form of Government, without the least Alteration, which made that *Republic* so *powerful*, as to be able to give *Laws* to its Neighbours; that *severity* of Discipline, *rigidness* of Morals, *frugality* of Living, *modesty* of Habit, all opposite to the *luxury*, *pompousness*, and *politeness* of *Athens*: besides the consideration of that *people*, always giddy and wavering in their Sentiments; which was a true Image of Lightness and Inconstancy, compar'd with the Constancy and Resolution of the *Lacedemonians*, promis'd him fair Idea's for the compleating such Pieces as were likely to please, from their Diversity and Opposition; those great Generals *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, *Themamenes*, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, with so many others that had the principal Commands on both sides, and all the *Grandees*, who signaliz'd themselves more eminently by their *glorious* Actions in that War, whose Names have all along been magnify'd in so high a manner, furnish him with noble Subjects, whereby he might recommend himself by representing them to the Life.

Add to all this the strange Accidents that War was disturb'd with, as extraordi-

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The Comparison of

dinary Earthquakes, frequent Eclipses of the Sun, Droughts, Famines, Plagues, and other more fatal Adventures, which gave him a Priviledge of *diversifying* his Work, mingling it with *terrible* Subjects, and most *frightful* Occurrences. There might probably be other more ingaging Prospects than these foremention'd, that determin'd this *Author* in the Choice of his Subject, which seem'd worthy to imploy his Pen, from such a Retail of mighty Circumstances as render'd that War, (as he himself in the beginning of his Work confesses) the most remarkable Enterprize in all Antiquity: Especially since *Athens* and *Lacedemon* were at their highest Point of Glory, and all *Greece* interest'd it self in that Expedition: Sure it is also, that *Xenophon*, who was a Man of a singular Judgment, found the *Peloponesian* War so fine a Subject, that he quitted those other Works he had before him, to Accomplish that *History* *Thucydides* had left imperfect, by reason of his Death, that took him unexpectedly.

The Subject of Livy.

As great, notwithstanding, as this *subject* seem'd to this *Author*, it must not come at all in Competition with *that* which

which *Livy* went upon. There is so great a Disproportion betwixt them, that there's no room for Deliberation concerning the Preheminence. This is the *intire* History of many Ages, of a *people* almost, always Victorious, and that made it self Master of the World. 'Tis a vast, and unfathom'd Ocean, a Carriere of so unbounded an Extent, that it may be said, such a grand Design never entred the Head of any Historian besides him. Others who have undertaken as long-winded Pieces, in proper speaking, are *Compilers*, not *Historians*. In fine, 'tis one of the greatest Attempts of an humane Mind; and possibly never *Author* appear'd in a vaster *Theatre*, as one may say, than He. But 'tis not only from the long *succession* of Time, and the *multitude* of Years, the Subject is so great: 'Tis through the Grandeur of a People that was *Sovereign* of all others: 'tis by the *glorious actions* of this People, in their war-like Expeditions, and Treaties of Peace, which they dispatch so Honourably for the Interest of their State; 'tis from a Thousand almost *incredible events*, wherewith Fortune exercis'd their Vertue; 'tis in that *prudence* they
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The Comparison of

manifested in their Councils, the *Maturity* of their Deliberations, *diligence* in executing their Designs, their *secrecy* and faithfulness in the most important Affairs, and in their *resolution* in unavoidable Dangers, and the greatest Extremities. In short, every thing seems strange and wonderful in that admirable Design. The *Originals* of that State, which grew so mighty from so small beginnings, its *progress*, its *changes*, its Vicissitudes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its *exaltation*, and almost inconceivable *pitch* of glory it arriv'd to ; by its patient induring *hardships*, by its perseverance in *labours*, by the exact Observation of *laws*, by the inviolable severity of its *discipline* in the *duties* of Peace and War, and by training up a well regulated and martial Souldiery, encourag'd, and exalted, with the only Thoughts, and prospect of *Aggrandizing* the Roman Name.

Thus then this *design*, considered well in all its Circumstances, is the most glorious *Subject* History ever had. 'Tis a long train of the Adventures of a People that being *scandalous*, as it was, in its Origine, coming of an Extraction in a
man-

manner infamous, Born and Nurs'd in
plunderings and murders, train'd up to
villanies; became wise, frugal, just, passion-
ately studious of glory, faithful to its Al-
lies, and professing *sprightfulness* in all
things. 'Tis the Story of the Fate and
Fortunes of a City that rais'd it self to
Universal Empire, and became the Me-
tropolis of the whole World; from a
Troop of vagabond *Shepherds*, acciden-
tally packt together upon the Banks of
Tiber: 'tis the Conduct of a Government
wherein the Observation of a rigid Di-
scipline, concurring with a ready and
faithful obedience, was had in greatest
Honour and Regard; though the Prin-
ciples thereof were very Lame and De-
fective. For the Senate of Rome having
subdued other nations, could no longer
suffer equivocations, or Disguises in its
consultations: loose, irresolv'd, feeble,
interessed, dishonest Councils were no
more heard of. 'Twas a Nation that
was virtuous through a principle of Ho-
nour; whose valour was the product
more of the head, than heart; That court-
ed or avoided Danger, from a result of
Prudence; and knew as well when to
expose it self, as when to retreat by the

The Comparison of

Dictates of Reason; and obtain'd the *Sovereignty* over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its *virtue*, than the force of its *Arms*. This is the true Character of the *Romans*, whose History *Livy* undertook to write. And as nothing seems finer amongst all the works of Reason, than the Relation of a great Enterprize, happily conducted to a glorious End, through a thousand Obstacles and Oppositions: as nothing is so pleasant, as to see the Progress of that Conduct, through the successive Degrees of its Augmentation and Strength it gathers by little, and little, from Poor, Mean, and Contemptible Beginnings; so nothing is more proper to be related, because it will appear agreeable in all its retail of Circumstances.

The History of a *people*, or a *Prince*, that is always *successful*, can never it self Succeed: it will have too much *uniformity*; and nothing is more insipid in a relation than too long a Prosperity, and a perpetual Success. There must be *variety* of Events, changes of Fortune, contrariety of Adventures, all sorts of Objects that are fit to attract the Mind of the Reader, by their Diversity. And all
this

this abounding in *Titus Livy's* History, far more than in any other, it is undoubtedly the most absolute Subject an *Historian* could have fallen upon. 'Twas from this view that *Livy* forthwith pitch'd upon it, as finding in it those favourable Advantages for his *Genius*, which he knew how to dispose of to their best Use, in the Execution of his Work. This Subject so Noble, so Great, so Rich, through so many different Adventures it included, seem'd a weight not too heavy for his Shoulders. He found a means of confining himself in so Immenſe a Matter without lanching into needless Digressions, and Amplifications, as the generality of *Historians* do. The greatness of his Subject, which he so well gave us to Understand, by his natural distrust, in shewing only his own Weakness, and the Disproportion of his Strength, at the entry of his Work, did not at all discourage him; because he saw that compass it took in, as vast as it was, reduc'd to the unity of a single State; whose Fortunes he describ'd. That darkness likewise, and uncertainty he found under the first Consuls, which perplext the coherence of the Subject,

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in the beginnings of the Republick, prevented not his Resolutions: For he knew how in these *confusions* to do his part *sincerely*, nor vouching any thing for *certain* but what he found to be so; and Doubting himself the first, of that which was Doubtful and Suspicious.

Besides that *strength* of *Genius* which he found capable of so great a Design, in the ordering and management of its Parts, in the just proportions of an accomplished Piece; besides that thorough understanding he had of his Subject, wherewith he had stor'd his Mind: the Knowledge he got of the World in *Augustus's* Court by his acquaintance with all the most accomplished Persons in the *Empire*; Rome that *magazine* of Vertue, that seat of Grandeur and Majesty, as *Cicero* Styles it, began to furnish him with lofty *Ideas*, which he all along displays in the several places of his *Histories*: He began to polish himself in a Court the most delicate that ever was: where all that had a *Genius* for Learning, had a most exquisite *Palace* for what ever was fine and excellent. He was instructed by the *Commanders* that were about

*Stans Domus
virtutis, imperii
dignitatis, domi-
clian gloria, lau-
oris, terrarum
&c. Cl. de O-
rat.*

about the *Emperour* in Military Discipline, in the Marches of Armies, Incampments, Sieges, and all that belongs to the art of War, which is best understood by *practise*. He observ'd the *Humour* that prevail'd most in that *Court*, and the *Taste* of the *People*, who were become very *Potiv*: He form'd himself upon all this, discovering by degrees infinite things, of which he had been altogether ignorant, without his Correspondence. The Familiarity he had with the *Twelve Tables*, which were contain'd in the *Fasts* of the *Capitol*, taught him the *Ancient Romans* manner of Life. The *Succours* he elsewhere hop'd to receive through the *Emperours* Favour, as of having Memorials necessary for his History, and the hopes his Friends gave him of their Assistance, Incourag'd him to conquer the wearisomness, and surmount the Uneasiness, which are the general Attendants of such tedious, and almost endless Undertakings.

But as soon as he had made all sufficient Preparations for his *Work*, and was assur'd of such Succours, and Incouragements, as he thought necessary for its Execution, he bade Farewel to all the

World, that he might give himself wholly up to his Enterprize; having nothing in his Thoughts but the *Work* he was about, to which he Sacrificed his Fortune, his Pretensions, the Preferments he might hope for from his Princes Favour, and his own Merit; his Pleasures, his Hopes, his Ease, his All. And never *Author* had that Zeal and Industry, to accomplish what he had propos'd.

CHAP. V.

A Comparison of the History of THUCYDIDES, with that of LIVY.

THe Attempt of Comparing these two *Historians*, as to their Performances, and of drawing a just Parallel betwixt them, is so Rash, and so much above my Capacity, that I am so far from Imagining, I shall be able to content the Publick in this Point, as to be sensible I can never satisfy my self in that Particular. And I must confess, to
I speak

Speak sincerely, it is rather a *project* of a *Comparison* of the two Works than a *Comparison* it self. But I hope this *project* will suffice for my Design, which is to give the *learned* leave to determine of the Preference of these two *Authors*, and their *Works*, by the Essay I shall make thereof, which can pass but for a very imperfect part of this Piece. Here is the Abridgement of *Thucydides*.

He begins his History with an Universal Notion he gives us of Greece in general, and with *Pelops's* Descent into *Peloponnesus*, (from whom it deriv'd its name) after the war of *Minos*; thence he enters on his Matter, and so passes to the War of *Troy*. This is to ascend too high: and this *beginning* is not suitable, and proportion'd to the body of the History, which is only a particular War betwixt *Athens*, and *Lacedemon*. However he had his Reasons wherewith to justify it; and that *exordium* is a kind of *platform*, to represent the *state* of his Country, on which it was expedient for him to insist, to make it understood; he descends there, probably, to too many Particulars, which give us reason to believe he more Studied to satisfy the in-

An Abridg-
ment of
*Thucydi-
des's* History.

clination he had for his Country, than the *task* of an indifferent Reader. He gives there too much Reins to his *Carriere* : For he might have reduc'd that long Digression into narrower Bounds, as not being altogether so necessary for the understanding his History as he Imagin'd it. But he had a Mind to ingage his Readers, by giving them great Matters, and to accustom them by little and little to embrace his Opinions, and Sense, by filling them with his Ideas. Notwithstanding one shall be hard put to it to forgive him that vast Excursion, where he immediately falls upon the *Trojan War*, as also, the Relation of the Transactions of *Greece* since that time, the different Adventures of the Country, the several Expeditions by Sea, the Trading of the City *Corinth* that grew so Rich by Commerce.

Hereupon indeed he enters upon a Narrative of the Advantages of the People of *Greece*, who became so Potent by Sea : whence he passes to the several ways of building their *Vessels* and *Galleyes* and gives an Account of the Use of them. And that *narration* tends directly to his Point; for these are the Preparatives of the

the War he is to describe. But methinks he has crowded too much Matter in his first Book, out of a desire of prefixing a too stately *prole* to his History. He has not confin'd himself enough in assigning the several Reasons of the breach of Treaty, betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, to give a very exact Account of the Causes of that War he undertook to write. He has not always so cleverly open'd the Particulars of that Affair, as his Subject demanded. But he has shewn himself Profoundly skill'd in the different Interests of *Greece*; and the general Notion the *Historian* gives of the Forces of the Country, both by Sea and Land; the Description he adjoyns of the Ancient *Greeks*, and of those of his own Age; the Abridgment he makes of the *Persian War*, is an happy Beginning for his History, in as much as there is something great in those Particulars.

But the Subject of the second Book becomes still more Material, by the List of the *Allies* who engag'd in that War, on both sides: For he reckons up almost all the *Common-wealths* of *Greece* one after another, which took contrary Parts.

they were dispos'd by their Interests, and Relations to the two *Republicks*, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, of which they were either *Allies* or *Favourers*. And the *Historian* bestirs himself here exceedingly, by reason of the different Embassies the several States deputed to each other, which put the whole Country in Ferment and Commotion by their Factions and Intrigues: and all this is still made Greater by the Art he has of Interessing in that War, which at the bottom was but of small Moment, all the Countries of *Greece*, *Sicily*, and part of *Italy*, the *Generals* also of the *King* of *Persia*, who make all a grand Figure in that Expedition; and ingaging as one may say *Heaven* and *Earth* and all the *Elements* in that Quarrel, to make it more Considerable, through those prodigious Circumstances, of Eclipses, Earthquakes, Plagues, Famines, Mortalities, and other Prodigies, of which I have already spoken: and which he introduces in his History to give a greater Idea of his Subject. It must be acknowledged the Wit of the *Historian* is very Apparent in that part: and that so inconsiderable a War as that of two petty Na-

Nations could never have been of much importance, but by means of that Pompous Retinue of Circumstances it came attended with. And herein he can never be sufficiently admir'd, whilst we reflect upon the Art he had of supporting a little Subject by Treating it in a Method great and noble.

He continues his Second Book with the Description of the Condition the Town of *Athens* was in, when the Enemy made a Descent into the Country, by *Oenoe* the first Frontier Garrison on the Coast of *Boeotia*, as also of the Havock *Archidamus* made about *Elenfine*; whence passing through *Attica*, he came and posted himself within two Leagues of *Athens*: The Alarm being spread abroad, *Pericles*, who at that time had the Administration of Affairs, refus'd to convene the People, lest the Fright they were in should put them upon some Absurdity or Extravagance, through too much weakness. He relates next the several Enterprizes of each People upon one another, without escaping any memorable Action, the rest of the Summer; as also the Funeral Solemnities the following Winter, paid

paid to the Honour of those who were slain in this first Campaign; and he Describes the Ceremonies thereof: wherein *Pericles* who had advis'd the *War*, made an *Elogy* upon those who had lost their Lives in it. Probably never Man succeeded more happily than he in infusing Courage into the living, by celebrating the memory of the dead, and setting before their Eyes the Glory of dying for their Country with their *swords in hand*, especially for a Country so Glorious in all things as was then the Commonwealth of *Athens*. There is nothing in that Discourse but is set off with all that Dignity, which shines so Eminently in this Historian. The Description of the *plague* in all its particulars, which comes after, stands rightly placed, for the intermixing that Variety which is requisite to make a History taking.

The *Athenians* crush'd almost at the same time with a *War* and *Pestilence*, which laid their Country desolate, began to murmur against *Pericles*, who hereupon assembled them, in order to incourage them, by justifying his management. That *Harangue*, howsoever forcible, by those Masterly and Engaging Strokes

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he gave it, had but little Effect upon their Minds, who were sensible of nothing but their Misfortunes: he was discarded presently, and as suddenly restor'd. The inconstancy of that People over whom he had gain'd all the Authority his Merit and his Eloquence deserv'd, hastned his Death, which happen'd not long after. The *Eugenius* the Historian makes upon that Great Man, affords us a very fine Idea of his Vertue: His loss was none of the least Disgraces that fell on *Athens* in the second Campaign. For there being no one left behind of so Eminent a Quality to fill up his place; his Successors were equal perhaps in Merit, and *ivals* in Dignity, wanting sufficient Power to rein up a People with an *absolute* hand, were Oblig'd for their interests to manage them *remissly*, and to sooth and flatter them into Obedience.

After the Death of *Pericles* the posture of Affairs was more untoward than formerly. *Sicily* began to be in Commotion, and to Arm for *Lacedemon*: the Siege of *Plates* was form'd in *Boeotia*, the Assault was Vigorous, and the Defence as Resolute. That Siege describ'd at length

length in the second Book, falls into a Blockade: thence follows the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Chalcis*, to give a Diversion to the *Lacedemonians*, which occasion'd them to enter *Acarne*, to make themselves Masters of the Isles *Zagynus* and *Cephalenia*, as also of *Naupactus*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* Sailing about *Peloponnesus*. But as perplext and imbroil'd as Affairs were through the heat which was diffus'd in the minds of the People, and their several engagements with each other, in the end of the second Book, they are clear'd off by the Historian with that easiness and Perspicuity, as renders that an Admirable Piece: the Naval Battle of the *Athenians* against the *Corinthians* at *Naupactus*, and that of the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, are describ'd in such a retail of Circumstances as is wonderfully taking with the Reader. The Advantages they had over each other, being reciprocal; there was an endeavour on the Enemies side to surprize the *Piræan Haven* near *Athens*; which prov'd unsuccessful for want of due Measures in taking the Advantage of the Occasion.

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This Book, and the third Campaign, conclude with the *Thracian* War in *Macedonia*. Never History compriz'd so much Matter in so little Room, nor so much Action in so few Words. If any thing can be found fault with, 'tis that the Exploits are too closely wound with one another, so that the coherence seems somewhat intricate and confus'd; and that multiplying of Objects tends only to dissipate the attention of the Reader.

He begins the Third Book with the Revolt of *Lesbos* from the *Athenians*, and the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Mitylene*, which sent *Embassadors* to *Lacedemon* to demand supplies. That Oration is so insinuating, and full of Artifice, that the *Lacedemonians* could no way resist it. *Mitylene* is receiv'd into the Alliance of *Peloponnesus*. The Harangue of *Cleon* upon the Affair of the Prisoners of *Mitylene*, which some were for putting to Death at *Athens*, of which Opinion he himself was; and that of *Dionotus* who was for having them Pardon'd, are very strong and persuasive. *Plates* being at last surrendered up to the *Athenians*, that Town sent to justify its conduct to *Lacedemon*. There are to be seen

in the Discourse of that Embassy fine and curious Strokes of Eloquence; nothing can be more moving, or founded on more substantial Reasons, yet all to no purpose: The *Phœbus* fell a Sacrifice to the Revenge of the *Thebans*; which makes a notable incident in the History. The Historian, taking the Hint from the Troubles of *Cotyre*, makes a Digression upon the Factions that grow in a State, and the disorders that spring from them which is a very good Lesson for *Governors*. That which follows of the Affairs of *Sicily*, the Warlike Exploits of the *Athenians* in that Country, their Defeat in *Erolia*; the *Lacedæmonians* Attempt upon *Naxos*; the Purification of the Isle of *Delos*; and the Description of that mysterious Ceremony perform'd by the *Athenians*, is express'd in a Noble, Great and Stately manner.

The Author quits the War of *Peloponnesus* in the Fourth and Fifth Book, to enter upon the Affairs of *Sicily*, which occasion'd several Enterprizes upon *Megara*, *Boeotia*, *Thrace*; the Battle of *Delos*, the taking of *Amphipolis*, *Thrace*; and several Expeditions which are related in one and the same strain. The Business

ness of *Sicily* gave Birth to a Treaty be-
twixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians*,
whereupon was form'd a Treaty of
Peace betwixt them, which lasted Seven
Years: the Historian is here Oblig'd to
make a kind of an *Apology* to justify the
Continuation of his History, pretending
that League was broken, and renew'd,
done and undone several times, that the
War was never interrupted, that the
Treaty was never put in Execution, by
reason of manifest Trespasses; the *Lace-
daemonians* having never quitted *Asophi-
polis*, which their Articles oblig'd them
to do. To speak Truth, that Treaty
was never satisfy'd by the Allies, which
gave rise to several other Leagues a-
mongst them, and many other Affairs.
But all that Campaign was spent in Ne-
gotiations of Peace, which were put an
end to, by the Battle of *Marthaea*, from
which was thence the Renovation of the
Alliance betwixt *Athen* and *Lacedaemon*.
The Sixth Book is a large Digression
upon the Wars of *Sicily*, which begins
with a long Description of the Country,
and the Founding of *Syracuse* by *Archi-
the Corinthian*. He shews a great deal of
Ancient and far-fetch'd Learning in
that

that Description, but it is not pleasant and agreeable: it is too remote from the main Subject, and falls not rightly in, unless it be that the *Sicilians* thought of coming to maintain the League of *Peloponnesus*. *Alcibiades's* Discourse to persuade the *Athenians* to a War with *Sicily*, and that of *Nicias* on the other hand to dissuade them, are Two of the chiefest Master-pieces of Eloquence in their kind. The Description of the *Athenian* Fleet, and all the Equipage of War, in their Preparations against *Syracuse*, is very handsome. *Alcibiades's* Oration to the *Lacedemonians* in his Banishment, advising them to send a Reinforcement into *Sicily*, that was attackt by the *Athenians*, is a piece of lofty, lively, strong and generous Eloquence.

The Defeat of the *Athenians* at *Syracuse*, and the Description of the Battle, is the finest part of the Seventh Book; nothing is better drawn, or more absolute, than the Picture the Historian makes of it: 'tis handled throughout with abundance of Art and Mastery. The Destruction of the Power of the People of *Athens*, on occasion of a Negotiation with *Alcibiades*, who had thrown him-

himself into the hands of *Tisaphernes*, Lieutenant-General of the *King* of *Persia*, because he had interfer'd with the *Lacedemonians*, who receiv'd him in his Banishment, is describ'd in this Book particularly enough. He was sought to in his Disgrace for an Accomodation, which he disdain'd to hearken to, but upon Condition the *people* should not be consulted; only the *Officers* of the *King* of *Persia*, who were honourable *Gentlemen*: The Reluctance he shew'd in exposing himself to the inconstancy and humours of the *people*, occasion'd the Destruction of *Democracy*; which is very well open'd and related.

The Digression upon the change of Government in *Athens*, and *Samos*, where it was attempted to *humble* the too excessive power of the People, has very little relation to the principal Design of the History, which is the War of *Peloponnesus*; and this last Book is generally very confus'd, and has nothing finish'd; which has given reason to some *Criticks* to think *Thucydides* was not the Author. This is the Abridgment of his History: now for that of *Titus Livy*, that we may make the Parallel.

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An Abridg-
ment of Li-
vy's History.

There is nothing that can give us a better notion of the difference betwixt these *two Authors*, than the different ways of Writing they have taken: For *Livy* takes a course quite contrary to that of *Thucydides*. The Entrance to his History is great, suitable to the greatness of his Subject, but it is modest and humble: it may be said too not to want simplicity, though it is Pompous and Majestick. With what admirable Discretion does he introduce that ancient Tradition, which makes *Aeneas*, the first Parent of *Rome*, of a Divine descent. He Treats it as a *fable* that he would neither *maintain*, nor *overthrow*, intimating there is so much deference and respect to be paid to *antiquity*, as to give *her* leave to mingle something *divine* with *humane* Affairs, to recommend the Originals of Cities and Empires, as more august, and venerable to Mankind by such a mixture. He hence descends to something of a more solid Consideration; and to give us an Idea of his Work, He begins it with an Elogy upon the Vertue and Probity of the People whose History he is Writing, yet still preserving

*Quæ ante condi-
tam urbem porticus
decora Fabulis ed-
nec affirmare nec
refellere in animo
est. Hist. Rom. l. 1.*

ving himself from being blinded with self-love, and carried away with the inclination a Man naturally has for his own Country. For he scruples not to give you their ill Qualities as well as their good, that is, the remissness as well as severity of the *Roman* manners; but without any prepossession of Interest or Passion, and with all the Prudence in the World. That beginning of the History, where the Author fetches the Origin of *Rome* quite from the Destruction of *Troy*, and the whole Pedigree of the *Kings of Alba*, is in it self a little cumbred and confus'd, both in the words and things, and has a Style that has hardly any thing Great in it. One may see the Author avoided flashing at the first: The things he speaks are great, but his way of speaking is low and humble; and there is much Artifice in that entrance, which the Author debases on purpose to shew that the Beginnings of the *Roman* Grandeur were but small, and the better to observe the Progress of that State. He however fails not to relieve the *deffiny* of that Empire, from the nobleness of its Extraction, deducing it from the God *Mars*,

*Debetur factis tantæ origi-
nibus maximè
secundum deo-
rum opes imperii
H. Rom. l. 1.*

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whom he makes the Father of *Romulus*.

The haughty and fiery Temper of *Romulus* is finely drawn, but the Picture of his Successour *Numa*, and his Government, makes that Founder of *Rome* seem more haughty than he really is : That opposition is very Advantageous in those two Characters. The fierceness of the first, however softened it seems by the Religion of the second, is set off the more by that kind of *contrast*, which is pleasanter in *History* than in *painting*. Those petty Battles under the first *Kings*, and kinds of Apprenticeships, the *Roman* People serv'd in War against their Neighbours, are heightened by the Expression of the *Historian*, who can, when he pleases, animate little things with an Air of Grandeur. The Engagement of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the Decision of the Fate of *Rome* and *Alba*, is an Adventure that Beautifies all that part ; for 'tis admirably related. The *expulsion of Kings*, which is the greatest Event in the two first Ages of *Rome*, is render'd more remarkable by *Lucretia's* Exploit, who Stabb'd her self before her Husbands face, for having been dishonour'd by young *Tarquin* : and the making that

Cir-

Circumstance the most material in that Revolution, recommends the Relation more effectually to the Reader, interesting his Affection, by so surprizing an Adventure. All the Consequences of that Revolution become more considerable, by a Foundation so Solid, and of so great a Lustre.

Scavola's attempt is Painted in the Second Book, with all the Colours, so great, Heroick, and extraordinary a Design, is capable of. The love of his Country, to which that Design ow'd its Conception, the contempt of Life upon which it was form'd ; the Proposition that *Gallant Gentleman* offer'd the *Senate* in ambiguous Terms, that so he might Merit their Approbation, without incurring Disgrace ; that undauntedness of Action, and Resolution of Soul, and Courage in revenging on himself the miscarriage of his Blow ; all is of that Spirit and Elevation as is hardly to be parallel'd. And 'tis impossible a description of a like Enterprize should be supported with more astonishing Circumstances, with more disdainful Language, or greater Sentiments, *Porfenna* King of *Clasium*, who was besieging *Rome*, amaz'd at so

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prodigious an instance of Valour, demanded Peace of the *Romans*; and that Peace was the product of so desperate an Undertaking. But finally, that Probity he attributes to a People grown Fieroe and Untractable by the constant practise of Arms; that *justice* and *clemency* they exercis'd in the very *pride* and beighth of their Victories; that *love* of *glory* he ascribes to them; that noble Pride from whence he draws their principal Character: that greatness of Soul, & loftiness of Thoughts, the Dignity of the *Roman* Name inspir'd them with; the Ingenuity of the *Senate* in its Suffrage, instanc'd in their taking Generals from the Plough: That Spirit of Wariness, Frugality, Innocence, and Equity so much practis'd, and had in Honour in the raw and unpolisht Beginnings of the Common-wealth: The publick Spirit-edness of *Brutus*, who Sacrificed his Childen to the Safety of his Country: The *Poverty* of *Curius*, who after he had *enrich'd* the *Republick* with the Spoils of the Enemy, had not wherewith to Bury him: Moreover those grand Maxims, engrav'd in all Hearts, truly *Roman* never to brook Disgrace: The
Re-

Resolve of the *Senate* after the Defeat, by *Hannibal*, at *Cannæ*, never to hearken to a Proposal of Peace: those Ideas of Equity, intimately impress'd on their Minds: that great Sense of Honour, Fidelity, love of their Country, and Liberty: Their incomparable Knowledge in the Art of War, the Severity of preserving the Laws of War in their utmost Extent: that invincible Patience in Dangers and Hardships; and all those other Vertues wherewith the *Author* has stor'd his *History*, in innumerable Examples, are the most usual Strokes he gives for the compleating of their Character. This was the Spirit that reign'd in the Commonwealth in those troublesome Times, when the Power of the first Consuls was balanc'd by the Institution of *Tribunes*, to bear up the people against the Encroachments of the *Nobles*.

After the Second *Carthaginian* War, and the Defeat of *Hannibal*, the taking of *Numantia*, the Conquests of *Sicily*, and all *Greece*, we may observe other sort of Manners, and a quite different Spirit introduc'd in the Republick, through that abundant Prosperity their Arms brought in. Politeness, and love of

Gentile Arts, a delicacy of Palate, and the Study of Learning began to be established in *Rome*, and to give quite another Countenance, Mode, and Lustre to the Government, which the Historian has admirably laid open in all its Circumstances. The Second Part also that remains of his History, or rather the Two last *Decades*, are incomparably better than the First. For as to the Second, which contains the Succession of Wars against the *Samnites*, against the People of *Etruria*, and *Lucania*; against the *Gauls*, against *King Pyrrhus*, against the *Tarentines*; the first *Punick War* made by *Attilius Regulus*, and that against the rest of the People of *Italy*, we can say nothing of, since all that Decade is intirely lost.

Finally, *Scipio* and *Laelius*, who were the perfectest Models of that Politeness which was, through the Study of Learning, set up at *Rome*, and who were themselves the Worthiest Gentlemen of the *Republick*, compleated the Perfection of that State, already so far advanc'd; causing the love of *Eloquence* and *Poetry*, and all *Arts* and *Sciences* to flourish in it; and 'twas by their Example, and the Con-

Converse and Familiarity with the *Greeks*, which the *Romans* had just Conquer'd, that they Civiliz'd themselves, utterly banishing out of their Republick that rude, surly and unmannerly Carriage, their constant dealing in Arms had introduc'd. 'Twas then this Victorious People began to Plume it self upon the Notion their Prosperity and Success had inspir'd them with, that they were born to be *Lords* and *Governours* of the rest of the World. And from thence it was that the love of Liberty, and the thirst of Glory, so much possess them: This is the Image *Livy* gives us of them after the Second *Punic* War, and during the Third: these are the principal Ingredients of their Character. For Plenty had not as yet debauch'd the Minds of a People, Vertuous, upon so good Principles, as the *Romans* were. There runs through the whole Character of *Scipio*, who was at the Head of Affairs, a Spirit of Religion, which shews that Virtue alone was in greater Reputation at *Rome* than ever; one need only see the Air the Historian makes him speak in, in his *African* Voyage; the Discourse he makes in the Twenty-ninth Book in his

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his Departure from *Sicily*, abounds with all the Sense of Piety, an honest Man is capable of. *Cato* gives his Voice in the *Senate* against the Luxury, and Drels

Marcus by *Attilius*
Romam cum venis-
setur nulla remagis
gloriaretur quam
decepto per inducias
et spem pacis Regis
perire. Hist. Rom.
lib. 42.

of Women in the Thirty-fourth Book, with the same rigour he would have done in *Plato's imaginary Republic*. Every thing fa-

vours of Vertue, both in the People, and

Veteres et moris
antiqui memores no-
gabunt se in exila-
gatione Romanas a-
gnosceret artes ut a-
du magis quam ve-
ra virtute glorio-
rentur. Hist. Rom.
lib. 37.

in the *Senate*: And nothing better manifests the Spirit, wherewith the *Senate* govern'd the *Republic* at that time, than the Verdict it

pass'd upon the two *Ambassadors*, *Marcus* and *Attilius*, Commission'd to the *King of Persia*; who gave some uneasy Suspicions to the *Romans*, as being a Man of Courage and Understanding. They said, in accounting for their Negotiation, they had amus'd that Prince with the Proposals of a Treaty, and the Hopes of a Peace; that they had thereby prevented him from making War-like Preparations, and took off his Allies from making their necessary Preparatives, and putting themselves in readiness. The young *Senators* had no-

thing

thing to object to his Proceedings, which seem'd novel to those who had grown Grey in the Government, and were highly disapprov'd by the *Ancient Sages*; who alledged, it was not by these Methods their *Ancestors* arriv'd to the *Sovereignty* of the World: but by *Virtue* alone, and Fidelity towards their Enemies, no less than that they exercis'd towards their *Friends*. Insomuch that that sort of Disguise, and Tricking, which had a tendency to Treachery, were ever held as Means not to be practis'd, and Paths their Probity and Vertue knew not how to tread in.

Moreover nothing is more bright and dazling, in this History, than the Idea *Livy* gives us in the Fourth Decade, and in the beginning of the Fifth, of the Dignity, and Power of the Senate, which was grown the absolute Master of the Republick; all things stood to its Resolves, and submitted to its Orders. If *King Antiochus* restores to *Scipio* his Son, whom he had taken Prisoner, and petitions him for a Peace, *Scipio* answers in Capacity of a *private* Person, and a *Father*, that nothing in the World could more Oblige him to it than the Present
he

he had made him of his Son; but in Quality of a *Roman* and *General* of the *Troops* of the *Republick*, he could no ways grant the Peace he demanded, for that lay only in the Breast of the *Senate*.

• And after the Defeat of *Perseus*, the *Senate* grew so absolute, that all stoop'd to its *Authority*, *Consuls*, *Generals*, *Armies* were obedient to it. The *Ambassadors* of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, and *Cleopatra* his Sister, make it the *Umpire* of their Quarrels. King *Massinissa* sends his Two Sons to *Rome*, to complement the *Senate* from him, upon their Defeat of King *Perseus*. *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* dispatches his Son *Nicomedes* to *Rome*, to put him under the Protection of the *Senate*: But how

*Potestis jam adversus
omnes mortales certa-
minibus haud secus
quam Deos consulere,
et parere vos generi
humano oportet Hist.
Rom. lib. 37.*

must the *Historian* Treat the People of that *Republick*; whereof that King Styles himself a *Freed-man*,

*Maximo semper an-
ticipis regibus popu-
lisque ignovisti, quanto
maiore vos animi de-
cori fore in hac Villa-
ria quæ vos dominos
orbis terrarum facit.*

glorying in so magnificent a Title; and whose Clemency, *Antiochus's* Ambassadors, (who came to beg Peace of *Scipio*) implor'd, as if it had been from the Gods themselves: If, say these Ambassadors, out of a greatness of
Soul

Soul you have Pardon'd those Kings and People you have Vanquish'd, what ought you not to do in that Victory which makes you Masters of the World? And this was it, that made this People, in their Victories, take upon them the glorious Title of Deliverer of other Nations. To conclude, nothing is so Great and Majestick as the Image the Historian gives us of the Republick in those happy Times. There you may see King Persens chain'd to the Chariot of Paulus Emilius, to enhance the Glory of the Triumph. Next is to be seen Gentius King of Illyricum, with his Wife and Children Vanquish'd by the Pretor Anicius, and led Captive along the Streets of Rome. There are the Ambassadors of Attalus King of Pergamus, and of his Brother Eumenes, in Posture and Quality of Supplicants before the Senate of the people. Thus possibly never Historian had so great a Subject, nor supported the Grandeur of it better by the Dignity of Expression, and loftiness of Idea's. See then the end of what we have remaining of Livy's History. For after follow the Successful and Victorious Times of Sertorius, who subdued Spain; of Pompey who subjected to the
Re-

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Republick *Mitridates, Tigranes, Armenia, Sicily*, and the other Provinces of *Asia*; and of *Cesar* who Triumph'd over the *Belgians*, the *Gauls*, and most part of the *Northern People*, as *Pompey* had over those of *Asia*. This is then the Abridgment, or rather the *Extrakt* of *Livy's* Roman History, which it was necessary to reduce into this Form, the better to apprehend the Nature of it; and thus this History is Preferable to that of *Thucydides*, because it represents a mighty Design carried on by regular Methods to the top of its Perfection, and a Republick grown up to be *Mistress* of the *Universe*, from so small and inconsiderable a Foundation: but now let us observe the Imperfections and Beauties of these two Histories: That which is still behind, for the Accomplishment of the Comparison.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

*A Comparison of the Faults of
the Two Historians.*

THIS is a very bold Undertaking to enquire into the Failures of so accomplisht Authors as *Thucydides* and *Livy*: For to find fault with those which a Man sets up for Models and Exemplars, is to destroy what he would establish, and Undermine the Credit of that he desires to Confirm. Besides that it seems unmannerly to Criticise upon these Two great Men, when Antiquity recommends them to us as the Perfectest and most Absolute of all others. But as nothing is more Essential to Man than to Err and slip sometimes; and those who pretend to be most *Infalible*, have their Faults; I Presume the Criticisms I shall make upon these Two *Historians*, will make not a little for their Praise; and that the World will be better satisfy'd of their Excellence, when I have examin'd their Faults, which may serve to set off the greatness of

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of their Merit. For 'tis not so much by *avoiding* Faults, as by a *direct tendency* to his Point, without any Deviation, that an Author shews himself : he that proceeds in the directest Line, and wanders out of his Way the least, as does *Thucydides*, is the most accomplisht in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis's* Opinion. Let us see what it is wherein *Thucydides's* History may be reprehended.

Dionys. Halicarn.
ad Elium Tiberon.
Num. 3.

*Thucydide's
Failings.*

He is not so Fortunate in the management of his Subject, as in his Invention, which always bottoming upon a great Fund of Reason, never fails him. He often confounds his Subject by anticipating or else Suspending, or lastly Interrupting his Narrations, which break off the Course of the History, and dissipate the Mind of the Reader, by the multitude of Objects that present themselves. For instance, in the Third Book he begins a Matter relating to the *Mitylenians*, and before he has finish't it, he skips to an Expedition of the *Lacedaemonians*; from that Expedition, which he leaves Imperfect, he undertakes a Relation of the Siege of *Platea*, which he abandons, to return again to the *Mitylenians*. And upon

upon their Account, he touches upon something of a Sedition happening at *Cortyra*, wherein the People divided themselves, some siding with *Athens*, and some taking the Part of *Lacedemon*. Thence he passes to the business of *Sicily*, and again pursues other Affairs without concluding any. And the whole Book is stuffed with such a multitude of Matters, and so different from one another, that a Man is quite lost, and can never be able to discover the natural Thread of the Principal History. And this is one kind of Fault in a Narration, which should ever have Union and Connexion, and be still endeavouring at the Scope it Proposes; that so it may fix and determine the Mind of the Reader to the same Object, without offering any thing to disengage him from it.

Again, 'tis pretended, he has not Explained, so cleverly as he might have done, the Cause of the War he goes to Write: *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is of Opinion he has not given us the True one, at least that he has mingled together with the True one, (which was the *Lacedemonians* Jealousy, of the too great Power of the *Athenians*) o-

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ther Causes which are not True. Undoubtedly he is somewhat Dark in that Place. The occasion of that War is much finer Explain'd in the Life of *Pericles* in *Plutarch*; where that Author makes it appear that it was *Pericles* who first Inspirited the *Athenians*, by the frequent Embassies he advised them to Depute, in order to perswade all *Greece* to enter into a Confederacy against the King of *Persia*; which gave the *Lacedemonians* Reason to suspect them: For thereby *Athens* gave it self a considerable Regard, which it never had before, and by that Distinction seem'd to take a kind of Preheminence above all other People.

That large Amplification upon the different Characters of the People of *Greece* in the Proem, their several Expeditions, which he drives up as high as the *Trojan War*; the Luxury of the *Athenians*, which he is too curious in Describing, talking even of their Curling their Hair: what he says of the Modesty and Frugality of the *Spartans*, and what he adds concerning one *Aminocles*, a *Corinthian*, who first taught the Art of Building Ships: and such other Loose and Unconnected Matters he

Treats

Treats of as a Preface to his History, are nothing to his Purpose in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis's* Opinion. He thinks he might have let all that alone, and have enter'd on his Subject without making so great a Ramble from his Design : he concludes likewise that his History has for its Subject not only the War of *Peloponnesus*, but all the Affairs of Greece ; for he brings in the Enterprizes of the *Athenians* in *Chalcis*, the Breaking in of the *Thracians* into *Macedonia* in the Second Book, the War of the *Leontins* and the Concerns of *Sicily* in the Third Book : and thus he seeks out Matters that are Forreign, because his own Subject is unable to furnish him with Variety enough out of its self ; which is the Reason there is so little Accord and Union in his Work : There are two Wars, one of *Peloponnesus*, and the other of *Syracuse*, without any Reference to, or Connexion with one another.

That Celebrated Funeral-Oration in the Second Book, which he makes *Pericles* to speak, is neither Agreeable, nor Proportion'd to the Occasions and Persons that it concerns ; and the *Historian* himself confesses, that Affair had nothing

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memorable in it, in Respect of that which he Describes in the Fourth Book under *Demosthenes* near *Pylus* ; where the *Athenians* were Routed both by Sea and Land: and those who fell, Signalliz'd themselves much more than in the former Defeat, in which only a few of the *Cavalry* were slain ; and all the Circumstances of the former Battle, have nothing comparable to the other, which he slightly passes over unregarded. But that the Historian might add greater Weight and Moment to his Discourse, he puts it into the mouth of *Pericles*, who indeed was *alive* at the first Expedition, but was *dead* at the Second ; in which a little Fault may be found with the Sincerity of the Author so Celebrated elsewhere for his Integrity : He is Upbraided too with his so long and frequent *Harangues*, and for having so little Variety. It is true, the Number of them is great ; but since the Humour of *Athens* and *Lacedemon* was to have every thing done by Haranguing, whilst the People were in Power, he must unavoidably Harangue them, since they would have it so. After all, the *Historian* knows how to abate that Heat of his Elo-

Eloquence, when he Divests himself of the Orator, and puts on the Historian.

The *Athenians* dejected by their Losses, and the wait the Plague had made in their Country, having the first dispatch'd a famous Embassy to demand a Peace of the *Lacedemonians*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* blames the *Historian* for passing so considerable a Point so superficially over; and reprehends him for not so much as naming the *Embassadors*, (which seem'd very Material in that War, through so considerable an Alteration in their Characters;) nor making mention of one Tittle of the Embassy: He that at other times would diligently Court every Occasion, to Introduce *Towns* and *States*, Discourfing by so frequent Deputations. It is certain he is guilty of a little Negligence in so notable an Opportunity, where he might have made his Country speak so fine Things; and have added more Renown to his History, by the Talent he had of Haranguing so excellently well.

I Omit several other Places *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* dislikes in this Author; because he runs into an Excess, overstraining his Criticisms through a Spirit

of Animosity, against that Historian, whose Reputation he endeavours to lessen, that he may with more Ease set up *Herodotus* against him, who was his Country-man, wherein his Proceedure has a Tincture of Partiality; not but that he had just Reason for it in many Particulars, but he had not in all. He is frequently too rigidly Censorious, so that it is necessary sometimes to Correct Spleen, at least not to be carried away with it without Examination. These following are the other Faults the generality of the Learned find with *Thucydides*. He leaves too much to his Readers *Conjecture*, whether for want of Care to Explain himself clearly, or whether through an earnestness to Express things nobly, he does it in fewer Words; by which he often falls into such *Obscurities* as the whole World can never reach his Meaning, because his Sense is as it were choaked with the multitude and force of his Images, which he crouds into his Expression. But by that *affected loftiness* that everywhere abounds in him, he without Scruple over-bears all the *rules* and *decency* of Construction; which he seems very little to Regard, provided he can express him-

himself with more Grandeur. 'Tis also through the self-same Principle, that the *figures* he makes use of, are for the most part *violent*; that the *colours* he *Paints* things in, are too *strong*; that his *strokes* are too *deep*; that he has a *theatrical air* diffus'd through his Discourse, by means of Expressions, that sound *tragically*, and of a *Character* not much different from that which *Pindar* took by his too closely following *Eschylus*; that the Historians which preceded him, were more careful of Expressing things plainly; that he is too *Figurative* in his Speech; that he affects an *uncouth ancient way*, in Words worn out of use, or In-authentick; that there is nothing of *sweetness* in his Expression; that he can *not* Paint a thing with any *softness*; that his Discourse is Disagreeable; that he was utterly unacquainted with those Graces and Charms his Predecessor *Herodotus* so well understood; and that in fine, by the natural Prosperity of his *Genius*, he runs into a dryness of Style, which renders his Discourse harsh and impoverisht.

There are those who push their Criticisms farther still; pretending he has

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not sufficient care to search into the bottom of Things; that he is too *superficial*; that he *simply* relates Transactions, without giving us the *Reasons* of them, or explaining the Motives that led to them: they add, there is no *turn* in his Periods, no *harmony* in the Cadence, no *agreeableness* in the Words, no *fineness* in his Discourse: that there is very little *variety* in his Harangues; that there are perpetual Embassies, wherein are large Discourses, excellent indeed, but *too prolix*, and too Studied: 'Tis thought he took that Method from *Homer*, who to make his Narration the more lively, makes those, he introduces in his Poem, talk everlastingly. The Dialogue he makes between the *Athenians* and the *Melians*, upon their different Interests, in the Fourth Book of his History, has something of the Nature of a *Dramatick Poem*, where things are Play'd by several Persons that are introduc'd; for which there is no Precedent in any History, which ought to be united, and continued in a Thread, without Interruption: in short, this is not suitable to *Thucydides's* Character of Simplicity. 'Tis suppos'd too, that
 he

he makes the *Greeks* have more Courage than Strength: their Ability is not answerable to their Pride; and one can not always have an opinion of their Merit great enough to support that presumptuous Arrogance he puts into their Character. For their War-like Exploits went no farther often, than the Plundering a Village, or over-turning the side of a Wall: He is a little deficient too, by giving petty Things more Stress than they can well bear, and in not giving the greater so much Weight as they require.

Besides that, the Distinction he makes of the Campaigns, by the Seasons, is not always neat enough; it is moreover tedious, because he is oblig'd to use the same Terms, and the same Transitions, which cause a disagreeableness in a Discourse: and by too Scrupulous and superstitious an Adherence to his Method, he leaves his Matter unfinished, and his Narrations interrupted. Others carp at I know not what abstruseness of Style, that wants a little clearing. I pass by that Digression in his Eighth Book, upon the Change of the Government in *Athens* and *Samos*, when there was a

necessity of curbing the Power of the People, who abus'd their Authority, and carried things to an excess of dangerous Consequence to the State. The Criticks have not, without good reason, reflected on the too great Length of that Digression, for the little Relation it has to the principal Design. The Reconciliation of *Alcibiades*, with the People of *Athens*, who had Banisht him, without declaring the reason why; and how he broke with the Republick, and was reconcil'd again; which is a Subject of the same Book, is methinks a little defective. Something more had been due to so considerable a Man: many other of the like Faults are to be met with in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, whom it is but turning to, to find them.

But for my own part, if I thought the Failings that are laid to the Charge of great Men, were to their Dishonour, I could easily vindicate *Thucydides* in the greatest part of those they object against him: I could say he was possess'd with so high a Notion of the *sublime* Style, that he affected it in all Things; that all besides seem'd inconsiderable, even so far, as to trample on the most

common Rules of Grammar, by the change of Tenses, Numbers, Genders and Persons ; provided he could thereby exalt his Expression, and add more heat and vehemence to his Discourse : I could maintain, that the little Connexion there is in some of his Narrations, is more the fault of his Subject, than his Understanding. For at the bottom, the War he describes, has nothing in it of a continued and premeditate Design : one shall not see any Enterprize regularly form'd, well contriv'd, and well executed : 'Tis all tumultuously Transacted, according to the different Movements or Passions of the People engag'd in the War ; and 'twere easy to make an Apology for the Author, in his other Faults imputed to him, if a Man would have the Patience to Reflect, that he was only Careless in some things, to add greater Perfection to others, which he thought of more Importance. For it was often on the account of Elevating his Style, and writing Majestically, that he over-lookt some little Negligences he has been Reproach'd with. Thus I would take care to excuse those Faults of his, by which he arriv'd to so great Perfection.

The Faults
of Livy.

As for *Livy*, he has been more Happy, than *Thucydides*, in that he has not fallen into the Hands of so morose a Critick, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*: and that Antiquity has ever had so great a Deference to his Merit; upon which no one has so impertinently Criticiz'd as on other Authors, of as establisht a Reputation as himself. But since nothing is so Absolute, but some Men will find fault with, take what they Reprehend in this Historian. 'Tis said that his Style is too *diffusive*, and that by his continual *amplifications* he wants that *vigour* and *strength* which is admirable in *Thucydides*. And they are *Beny* and *Bodin* in particular who find the most to carp at; since they judge not of *Livy* by the general Consideration of his Work, which demands Grandeur. He may be censur'd for that *extent* of his Style, but that Fault is readily pardon'd, if it be a fault, upon Consideration, that 'tis only that *diffuseness* that makes him Stately and Majestick. The dignity of his Design, and the nobleness of his Thoughts required a copious Style, and 'tis in that this Au-

thor's

*Livium ut ver-
bosum in Historiis
et negligentem
carpebat. Boet.
de Callig.*

*Post. c. 2. l. 2.
de Const. Hist.*

thor's Majesty principally consists.

It must be own'd, he is sometimes Obscure, as well as *Thucydides*; but there is no necessity of absurdly troubling ones Head to understand him all; for there are many Places in him which are, in their own Nature, Difficult: As the Explication of Ceremonies, Customs, and Matters of Fact; of which we have neither any Knowledge, nor Idea. He affects too, the usuage of very ancient Latin Words, which now are Obsolete; and he has peculiar ways of speaking, unknown to the other Authors, & only Proper to himself. Besides all this, 'tis probable he has been Corrupted in many places, whether by those who were the first Copyers, or by the ancient Editions; whether by the Moderns, or by the false Conjectures of unskilful Criticks; who pretending to correct him, where they have not understood him, have quite spoil'd what they would have mended; so that we are far from having *Livy* such as he was at first. *Turnebius* will have *Sigonius* to be the only Man amongst the Criticks, who has us'd him well, and set him best to rights.

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There are those who disapprove some bold Expressions and Thoughts he has, whereby he over-leaps the Bounds of Modesty, to which he is a great Pretender. I confess he sometimes ventures such sort of Sallies, but always with the greatest Prudence ; for as much as he knows how to make good use of them in the moving part of his Discourse, wherein nothing succeeds better than that which is least contriv'd. That too great Inclination of observing nicely, whatever he found Monstrous in his way, and attributing the Reasons of it to supernatural Causes, as to the Anger of the Gods, smells strongly of the Heathen, somewhat too Superstitious. St. Gregory the Great taxes him with this Fault, in *Cassian's* Preface to *Polybius*, being persuaded he only intermixt these *prodigies* in his History, to authorize his Religion; which I fancy was less in his Thoughts than the seeking Variety, to enliven the dulness and melancholly of his Narrations. That *Rustical air*, *Asinius Pollio* finds fault with in this Author, which has given occasion for the Niceties and different Opinions of the *Criticks*, is in my Judgment only an ill Pronunciation that

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founded a little Country-like, and was Offensive to the Courtiers accusom'd to all the Delicacy of *Augustus's* Court: at least it is the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who was too piercing a Wit himself, and too near a Neighbour of those Times to be ignorant of the Mystery, which he wholly imputes to the Pronunciation.

In Tho. Livio libro
secundæ vitæ patet in-
esse Pallio quendam
Patefacientem: quare si
fieri potest verba omnia
et vox hujus ab omnibus
verbis aliis (ut præstat)
Romani plene videatur
non civitate domini, lib.
8. c. 1.

Others assure us he was not exact enough in furnishing himself with Instructions, by diving to the bottome of his Subject; that he only Wrote from the *Memoirs* of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly suppress'd what made for their Disadvantage; and that he has not justly Distinguisht one from th'other. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the same Expence to Purchase the *memorials* of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain those of *Lacedæmon*, he had not expatiated so largely upon the Glory of the *Roman* People: he would doubtless have found some particulars where to have done more Justice to *Hannibal* and his *Republick* than he did. For opposing *Rome* and *Carthage*, as two Cities Rivals in Glory,

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it lay upon him to display the Grandeur, Riches and Power of the *Carthaginian* Government, and he had done more Honour to his Country, by extolling the Merit of those who disputed with it the Empire of the World.

Some men blame him for taking the main Instructions of his first Decades from the ancient *Origins of Rome*, which are full of Forgeries, and scarce have any thing else but Fabulous Traditions; since the use of *Annals* was but of a late Date in that *Republick*, as *Sigonius* observes. Moreover *Mascardi* in his *Treatise on History*, lays much Negligence to the Charge of this Author, for not having open'd the greatest Events in all their Circumstances, especially such as were principally necessary to the understanding the Importance of Affairs; which are found elsewhere, as in *Appian*, and other less exact *Historians*. But let us see the Faults of *Livy* more in particular.

He is obscure in some places of his Beginnings, as for Example, in the line of Descent of the *Kings of Alba*, which he has not unravell'd plain enough. The *Revelation of Romulus*, after his Death, that

that *Rome* should become the *Capitol* City of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition, seen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has something so Enthusiastick in it, that one is amaz'd an Author, of so solid a Character, should suffer such a Story to pass, without giving it a more plausible Turn ; yet he relies upon it, and gives it not out for a Tale or a Fable. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not so admirably put together, there is something wanting to its Probability ; a Man knows not upon what Grounds she Kills her self. If she has suffer'd Violence, why does she punish her self since she could not resist it ? Why would she not dye before she was Ravisht ? Is it modesty or vanity, is it wisdom or despair, is it love of virtue or glory that makes her Stab her self ? All things rightly consider'd, one knows not what it is. If she could not open her Eyes at the Horrour of her Condition, her Virtue is either too nice or too self-interest'd : in short, that wants a little Neatness. And *St. Austin*, who examines that Action, in all its Circumstances, in the Nineteenth Chapter of his Book *De Civitate Dei*,

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has much ado to discover what his Thoughts are of it. Is not that Audaciousness of *Clelia* too, a little Extravagant? and considering the make of *Tyber*, was it a thing Practicable: could a Maid, naturally Timorous, ever think of attempting so dangerous a Passage in a River that had Brinks almost inaccessible. For though *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* agrees with *Livy*, in the Description of that Adventure, *Val. Maximus* expounds it in a manner that looks much more probable.

'Tis pretended also, that the Historian shews too much Partiality in the Ninth Book of the first *Decade*, in the Comparison he makes of *Alexander* with the *Romans* in Point of Valour: He seems to divest himself too much of the Character of an *Historian* in that place, impertinently to play the *Declamer*; giving the Preference to his *Country-men* before the *Conqueror of Darius*, upon uncertain Conjectures, and without examining the Matter any farther than by extravagant Suppositions, and a List of *Consuls* which the Common-wealth of *Rome* had set up in Competition with him. *Tacitus* Reproaches *Livy* with the same Fault, in

Cn. Pompejum
tantis laudibus ex-
sultat Livius, ut
Pompejanum An-
gustus appellaret.
Tacit. An. lib. 4.

respect of *Pompey*, for whom he was too Partial against *Cesar*; which *Augustus* objected to him without taking it amiss; On the contrary he commends him, for that instead of flattering the Victorious Party in the Civil-War, he could not prevail with himself to condemn those Worthy Gentlemen, who were engag'd on *Pompey's* side.

That Train of Affairs, of *Philip King* of *Macedon*, spun out to such a length in the Fortieth Book, the Intrigues of his Family, the Adventures of *Theonice*, a Princess of *Thessaly*, and her Children; the Cruelty of the King; the Quarrels of *Demetrius* and *Perseus* his Two Sons; and all that Retinue of Circumstances relating to that Monarch, seems of an Extent disproportion'd to the principal Subject of the History, which an exact *Historian* should always keep in view; And that long Digression has, methinks, something Foreign in it to the business of the *Roman* Story; for what is it to the purpose of the War the *Romans* wage with that Prince, that we must necessarily know all those Particularities? Was it not enough to have related those that concern'd the Controversy betwixt him

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and the *Republick*; and the War the *Romans* made upon him. *Perſes's* Speech to his Father *Philip*, to juſtify himſelf, that long Exaggeration of his Brother *Demetrius's* Crimes, together with his Answer, is too Studied an Amplification, and is a ſort of Declamation that has a reliſh of the Desk or Bar in it. One might to this add, that the Hiſtorian ſuffers his Eyes to be dazled with that Triumphant and Victorious Air he gives the People, whoſe Hiſtory he writes, towards the end of the Wars of *Aſia*; where he represents, in two Arrogant and Lordly a Style, Captive *Kings* chain'd to the Chariot of the Conqueror, and dragg'd with their Queens along the Streets of *Rome*. There is an unaccountable Pride in thoſe Stroakes of Glory he gives the Victors; wherein he makes the People too vain, and is not himſelf ſo Modest as he might be. It is a falſe Clemency, or a real Vanity, to treat *Sovereign Princes* ſo ſhamefully, and to pardon their Subjects: Would it not have been much better to have had ſome Veneration for Crowned Heads? Does not that Reſpect which is due to Mankind, claim ſome conſideration for
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the Governours thereof? And that Greatness of Soul, which is the Character of the *Romans*, that Nicety in Glory, upon which they Plum'd themselves, would have been more conspicuous, by their replacing the Crowns on the Heads of those they had Vanquish'd, than by their ignominious Treatment of them, and their contemptuous sporting on their Grandeur. To conclude *Livy* with that sound Sense he had so natural and inbred, desiring to give us a good Opinion of the *Romans* Vertue by their Conquests, gives us as scurvy a one as may be by their Triumphs; for as much as he makes a People, when forgetting it self, so far forgetful of its real Glory, as to abandon it self, to all the Pride of its Conquests, and the Extravagance of its Vanity. It had at least been a Prudential part in him, to have seem'd to dislike that sort of Management. There are doubtless, other like Observations to be made upon this *Author*, if a Man would Cavil. Let this suffice, whereby to Judge of the rest, since 'tis necessary to fix Bounds to a Subject, that will not bear too many Particulars.

C H A P. VII.

A Comparison of the Excellencies of both Authors.

AS the Faults of a thing strike more upon one, than the Perfections, so doubtless there is requir'd a greater insight to discover what is good, than what is bad therein. They are oftentimes the narrowest Souls, that are the most forward Censurers; for nothing is more easy than to find fault, witness that *impertinent* Fellow mention'd by Qui ut putentur sapere, cunctum vituperant Phaed. Fab. the Poet, who could Reproach the most Absolute thing in Nature; I mean the Structure of the Heaven, to create an Opinion of his Sufficiency: and indeed it is the Prerogative of the most exalted Capacities, to know what is Praise-worthy, and to praise it as it should be. I am very sensible I am not one of that Order, nor sufficiently Enlightned to discern, myself, the greatest Beauties in these Two Authors, or discover them to others: But possibly by attempting these little
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Essays, I may be instrumental to others to exercise themselves in greater; and by opening the lesser Excellencies make the Understanding sort of Men sensible of the greatest. Here then is, in my Mind, a part of that which is remarkably fine in both One and the Other; for I pretend not to give an account of all that is so.

It must be acknowledg'd in general, that *Thucydides* had one of the most admirable *Genius*'s that ever was, Relating what he had a mind to, with all Nobleness, and Dignity imaginable. As he was Eloquent before *Aristotle* had wrote his Rules of Eloquence, he was Industrious of improving, with all manner of Application and Study, that wonderful Talent of Speech he had receiv'd from Nature; and he made that Art of his, whereing he excell'd, consist in employing every thing that could any ways *enoble* his Discourse, and giving all those *impresses*, and *turns* to Reason, whereof it was capable, in order to *persuade*; laying upon it all the *weight* it would sustain, to make the deeper *impression* on the Mind; tending directly always to the *bottom* of Affairs, without staying on

The Beauties of *Thucydides*.

The Comparison of

the *surface*; and by a Profoundness of Reasoning, peculiar to him, reducing every thing to the *fountain-head* from whence it came. But though he bestows nothing upon the *ornaments* of Style, or the Charms of Elocution, yet he is sure to *please*, because he is thoroughly *sound* in his Discourse, altogether *clear* in his Thoughts, and *solid* in all his Reflections. And there is nothing but what is Natural in his Expression, and 'tis by these ways he tends directly to the Soul. 'Tis also the frequent use of the *Empheme*, which *Demosthenes* learnt of him, that in some measure, renders him lively, strong and powerful in his Discourse. It is by this Art he domineers over the Resolutions of those he speaks to, that he seizes the Soul of his Readers, and hurries it away with the same vehemence as if it were an Heavenly inspired Motion: he carries away the Mind with the Spirit, and *force* of such kind of Reasoning, as give it not leisure to be *sensible* of his Faults. 'Tis herein he is so successful in engaging, in the Interests he is carrying on, all that hear him. That seriousness, gravity and austeriety of his Character, makes his Style
noble,

noble, masculine, vigorous and abounding in Sense ; and that vehemence of Expression, which sets him so far above other Authors, proceeds only from the Greatness of his *Genius*. For it is not so much the glittering of his Words, as the solidity of Sense, and the nobleness of his Thoughts, and the propriety of Terms, that gives weight to his Speech. All this is compleated with the utmost height of so clear and sober Reason, so exact a Judgment, and so noble a Style, that nothing seems more capable of giving a true relish of what is Excellent, than an Acquaintance with this *Author*.

Besides, he is ever so full of his Subject, through his profound Contemplation of it, that he leaves nothing for his Readers to desire, by the way he has of *circumstantiating* things. 'Tis meerly by this Art his Narration is so delightful, in that he omits no one Particularity, that might be serviceable to the understanding the Business he is about. Thus he so strongly engages the Mind, by the lively images of things, that he Paints the *ghastlyness* or *beauty* of those dismal or agreeable Objects he represents, and 'tis by this Art of *representing* to your eyes the

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the things he speaks of, he inforces upon his Reader the same Impressions those feel who have been Actors, Sufferers, Spectators or Witnesses of the things related.

I say no more of those admirable Orations than I have said already, wherein the Historian so Personates every Man as to make him speak in his proper Character; having compos'd them by *Pericles's* Model, who could Charm the People of *Athens* even in Declaiming against them, and opposing their Opinions. For *Thucydides* had often heard that Oracle of Greece, upon whose Lips dwelt the Charms of Eloquence, as *Cicero* says.

*Cujus in labris
hærentis habitasse
dixerunt comites.
Cic. l. 3. de Orat.*

Upon this Model he form'd himself, and by proposing so great an Example, carried the Art of Speech to its highest Perfection, in the Orations that he made. It is certain that Author gave a prodigious Lustre to his History by those Orations: It must likewise be acknowledg'd those so Studied and exact Discourses, had quite another Beauty when Extemporary, and spoken in the heat of Action and Business. To all this we may add those most solid Principles and Virtues

tues, Reason and sound Sense; those most establisht Maxims of Morality and Politicks, and that general *decorum* which runs through all he says, by pursuing particular Circumstances up to universal Idea's; and giving Energy to his Reasons, by tracing them to their first Principles, and Sources from which they were deriv'd, which is the thing that gives that substantial Form and Solidity to his Discourse: These are the main Beauties of that Author in general; let us observe now his Excellencies in particular.

The Harangue of *Pericles*, who Perswaded only by obtaining a Magisterial Authority over his Auditors, speaking ever in an imperial Strain, and as one may say, with *Thunder* in his hand; which occasion'd him to be styl'd *Olympian Jove*: that admirable Discourse that Great Man makes in the First Book of his History, in counselling the *Athenians* to a War, is of a noble Spirit, and abounds with lofty Thoughts. For instance, when he says to encourage them to take up Arms, *Let us not be concern'd at the loss of our Lands, or Country-seats; but our Liberty is that which ought nearly to concern us:*
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We are not made for our Estates, but our Estates for us : I am more afraid of our own Vices, than all the Advantages of our Enemy : great Glory and a mighty Name is only to be purchas'd by great and dangerous Undertakings : all the rest of that Discourse is of an equal Force and Exaltation.

But what Wisdom, what Dignity is there in that of *Archidamus* King of *Sparta*, dissuading the *Lacedemonians* from War in the same Book. Let us not suffer our selves, says he, to be blinded by those Mens Flatteries, who only Praise that they may Destroy us : Let us preserve our Modesty, which is the Source of our Valour : We are the only Greeks whom Prosperity has not as yet puff'd up with Vanity.

What is there Comparable to those Beauties we find in the Funeral Panegyrick in the Second Book, upon those who lost their Lives the first Campaign of that War ; especially where he speaks of the Manners that prevail'd in *Athens*, and of the government ? Our Government says he, is popular, because the end we propose is the happiness of the Republick, not the making of some few particular
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Persons; and Honour is the Reward of Merit, not the Privilege of Birth. We love Politeneſs without being fond of Luxury; we apply our ſelves to the Study of Philoſophy, without giving up our ſelves to Effeminacy and Lazineſs, the ordinary Companions of that Study: We take the eſtimate of Riches from their Uſes, and not from their Pomp; and we think it no ſhame to be Poor, but not to do what is neceſſary to avoid Poverty, this is Diſgrace. The Interests of each People are examin'd in that Diſcourſe, where Pericles gives his Sentence for the War, with all the Sagacity, the moſt ſubtle and curious Politicks are capable of. That is a Place worthy of their Study who have the management of Affairs: Nothing can be better explain'd.

That terrible Peſtilence, deſcrib'd in the Third Book is ſo particularly Circumſtanc'd, is ſo elaborate and exact, that *Lucretius* has almoſt intirely Libet. III. 6. Translated it into his Poem, *and Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, has Commended it as one of the Chiefest Works of Art, though *Lucian* finds fault with it in his Treatiſe of *History*, becauſe that Deſcription falls into too great a

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Retail of Circumstances. The Description *Livy* gives us in his Seventh Book of a Plague that happen'd at *Rome*, like that at *Athens*, is more succinct, and has a Style more serious. The Discourse of the Inhabitants of *Platæa*, who in the same Book justify their Conduct to the *Lacedemonians*, after they had Surrendered to the Enemy, is a piece of Excellency, that *Dionysius*, the declar'd Censurer of *Thucydides*, could not chuse but admire: There is a justness of Sense, and a force of Eloquence that penetrates the Soul, and causes a kind of Admiration mingled with Surprise. 'Tis in these Discourses the Models for the method of Perswasion are to be sought, as being such masterly Strokes of Eloquence as are no where else to be found.

The Sea-fight, in the Port of *Syracuse*, describ'd in the Seventh Book, so highly valued by *Plutarch*, is express'd so much to the Life, and the Motions of the Two Fleets of *Athens* and *Sicily*, are so clearly distinguish'd by their different Circumstances, that *Plutarch* himself calls that Description, a lively Image of the Passions of the Soul; 'tis all drawn in so lively and sensible a manner: Nothing can be

be touch'd with a finer Hand, or be more absolute than that Piece; which manifests the Excellence of the Art, and the Greatness of the Master. There is likewise, in the Sixth Book, an Oration of *Alcibiades*, to perswade the *Athenians*; to resolve upon a War with *Sicily*; which is remarkable for those Draughts of Eloquence and Politicks it is stor'd with: As for instance, when he introduces that great Man, saying, That *Turbulent Spirits*, such as were the *Athenians*, made greater advantage of Commotions than they could of Settlement: and that it was more convenient to stick to the ancient Maxims, though possibly not so Good, than to change them for those that are better; because Nature, says he, is a Principle of an higher extract than Reason; this being but the common Operation of Man's Soul, and the other proceeding from the Decree of God almighty. There is a profound Wisdom, an admirable Sense in that Reflection. 'Tis much the same Reasoning that he attributes to *Cleon*, a Citizen of *Athens*, upon the Case of the Prisoners of *Mitylene*; saying, That ill Laws, well observ'd, were better than good Laws that were despis'd or neglected: and that a well-meaning and regular

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gular Ignorance, was preferable to disorderly and inconstant Knowledge: For nothing is more dangerous in a State, than change of Conduct.

Again, what is there more wise or rational, than the *Dialogue* of the *Melians* with the *Athenians* Deputies, in the Fourth Book. The *Melians* talk in a submissive way, which is however noble and ingenuous; they preserve well the Character which became the Vanquish'd, without losing that of Worthy Men, who knew how to employ their reason well, when their sword had fail'd them. But the *Athenians* Lord it in too insolent a manner. The *Historian* gives them too contemptuous a Carriage, not very agreeable to Persons charg'd with a Negotiation? It must be confess'd, nevertheless, that nothing is more sensible or solid than that *Entercourse*. And the *Reproach*, wherewith the *Ambassadors* of *Plataea* urge the *Lacedemonians*, in the Third Book, of which I have already spoken, is very noble. If you measure, say they, Justice by your Interests, you will give no reason to believe your Interests are dearer to you than your Glory. All the Arguments the *Historian* employs in that Discourse

course are like the Flashings and Dartings of Thunder and Lightning, as his most severe Censurer *Dion. Halicarnassensis* acknowledges; 'tis all Divine, even in his Opinion. But if a Man would set down all the Excellencies he shall find in this Authors Orations, he must intirely Transcribe them, as did *Demosthenes*. What can be imagin'd more pressing, than that which he makes his *Hero* of Eloquence, *Pericles* to speak; when he endeavours to perswade the *Athenians* to the War in the First Book. *If it were possible* (says he to them) *you should be discourag'd by the Labour and hazard there is in Conquering; I would advise you to bid farewell to Glory; For 'tis only by Pains and Hardships, ye can become worthy of that Honour.* The Argument is there express'd in all its Force and Dignity.

Finally, those Grand Principles of Honour, Equity, Honesty and Glory, to which he knows how to give their due inforcement, are the most usual Characters he imprints upon his Discourse. 'Tis herein he makes use of the purest Reason, not laying more weight on it than it will bear, as the *Sophists* endeavour to do, nor desiring through a coun-

perfect Eloquence to carry it beyond its *natural* bounds. 'Tis in these *Harangues* that all things shine and glitter, with the Lustre of a noble strong and vehement Eloquence, which he had form'd from the lively Sense he had of Things, and a thorough Understanding of the Subjects that he Treated on. Let us then Pardon him those Discourses, for which we see some Criticks have Censur'd him, since they are fraught with so many Excellencies. For, besides that the *Greeks*, as I have observ'd before, were Devoted to that Haranguing Humour, and their *Republican* Spirit Authoriz'd that way: This Great Man was very sensible of his own Qualifications, for making States and Common-wealths discourse; by which means he makes his History, of so little and inconsiderable a Subject, to be of so important Consideration: And here he delivers those grand Maxims of Morality and Policy, he understood so well. And though *Cicero* is of Opinion, that the *Rhetorick of the Bar*, through its too great Loftiness, is improper for *civil* Affairs; I maintain that for Reasoning, in the great Affairs of Treaties, and the Negotiations of Peace and War, and in all weigh-

weighty & important Interests, Controverted by States, *Thucydides* is the greatest Master that can be Consulted; and 'tis impossible to find, elsewhere, Reason better wrought, by all the wisest Maxims of Government, than in *Thucydides*. And all things well consider'd, there is not to be found, in other Works, that Force of Eloquence that appears in his.

What Wit, what Understanding, what Views must not a Man have, to discover the Excellencies of a Work, conceiv'd in the very purest Reign of the Roman Eloquence; and to distinguish those Beauties, that so highly transcend the common Rules as *Livy's* do: He had an Elevation of Soul, that gave him a noble Conception of things; and it proceeded more from the Nobleness of his Thoughts, than that of his Language, that he was so Happy in his Expression. He was intimately acquainted with Nature and all her Movements; of which he gave us such lively Draughts, that there is ever a surprizing Sprightliness of Soul in his Discourse: And as he had contriv'd a *sublime* Style, by the Greatness of his Expression, which he diffuses through his Work, tho' he manages it

The Beauties of *Livy*.

with all that Prudence, which was Natural to him, so he has plac'd all the Objects he Represents, in the finest Light imaginable. His Discourse is clear, ever tending to its Purpose, without making those Starts and Excursions other Authors are so Subject to. His Logick is exact, his Diction pure, his Narration full of variety: His Order looks so Natural, as if the most curious Images of things, so Postur'd themselves in his Mind, as to fall each in its proper Place, to make an absolute Picture, both in all he thinks, and all he says. He disposes of those Images, which he unfolds in his Narration, by a great Diversity of Ideas; and 'tis by the Disposal and Order of them he is so Engaging: And as he speaks more to the Understanding, than the Eye or Ear, so he ever tends more directly to the Soul.

The Ornaments, which he mixes with his Discourse, and those Flourishes he bestows upon it, are so well Husbanded, as to appear only in those Places that demand them, and can bear them well; wherein he shews himself Liberal without Profuseness. As for the rest, 'tis generally the Plenty of his Matter,

ter, that makes him so Copious in his Style ; the native Richness of his Subject causes that Luxuriance in his Speech: And his Narration becomes taking, by means of its Diffuseness, growing thereby better Circumstantiated, and more Probable. For nothing is more effectual, to render a thing Credible, than the Knowledge of the Particularities how 'twas Acted: Besides, a Man gives a steadier View of the Objects represented, by standing a little upon the Turn of a Narration, without precipitating, or exhibiting things in a transient Glance, To all which may be added, the admirable Discretion he has, to dis sever and separate the Sentiments of Men, & to make them speak and act according to the *Decorum*; of their several Conditions, in which Nature has instated them: I am dazzled with that Lustre which reflects from his Discourse, by the Choice, the Harmony, and Elegance of the Words he uses, and those softer Passions, that abound in his History, of which *Quintilian* speaks so favourably: those moving and delicate Affections, which he treats with all the Art and

*Affectus quidem
præcipue eos qui sunt
dulciores utroque
modis magis,
Quint. l. 10. c. 1.*

Nature imaginable, perfectly Enchant me, by those wonderful Compositions they raise in my Soul.

Perhaps never Man came furnish'd with better Parts, or those more improv'd, to the Writing of a History, than he; For he was form'd in a *City*, at that time, the *Empress* of the World; in which all the most important Affairs of the Universe were Decided; and in the politest Reign that ever was, having had scarce any other *school* than the Court of *Augustus*. There it was he learnt the Language of the Genteelest part of Mankind, and that lively, fine, subtle and natural Air, then in Fashion; that exquisite Taste, that purity and nobleness of Expression, which was the Character of that Age; and of which there were so great Models in all sorts of Writing, perfecting and polishing himself upon them. Thence it was he took that softness, necessary to please, and that Force which renders him moving, wherein peculiarly consists his essential Character: For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty, with all the Vehemence of Discourse, so much as he; so much does the sweetest of Beau-

Beauty Temper the Masculine Force and Energy of what he says : that there falls not any thing from his Pen too strong, but is softened with a Term more nice and delicate. He prepares whatever is Bold, and heightens whatever is Low, with the Brightness of his Speech : These then are part of his Beauties in general; let us now see those he has in particular.

He immediately procures a great Attention, and much Inquisitiveness, by that great Idea he gives his Subject, at the Entrance to his Work, when he says, the Destiny of a City, design'd for the Empire of the World, ought to have something of Divinity in its Original; and when he gives so great an Opinion, of the Vertue of the People, whose History he undertakes.

In the First Book, wherein Events are little, and proportion'd to the strength of a State in its Infancy, nothing is better related than the Battle of the *Horatii* and *Curatii*; the Adventure is Great and Extraordinary. Two little States, which make War and Dispute for Sovereignty, give up their Interests and Destinies into the Hands of Two Families

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lies, to decide them. What Colours, what Expressions does not the Historian employ in that Combate, where he Paints with all his Art, the Fears, the Hopes, and the rest of the Passions of the Armies, who were concern'd in that Affair, where the Dispute in hand was, who should be Masters or Subjects of each other. Is there any thing to be seen more strongly Painted, or better Represented? Does not a Man feel what the *Historian* says, and take in the very Sentiments he inspires, by the Impressions his Narration makes upon the Soul? The Adventure of *Lucretia* is finely introduc'd in the same Book, for as much as it renders the Revolution of the Government, which it occasion'd, more Remarkable. The Banishment of *Tarquinius*, and his Family; the Revolt of the People against the King, whose very Name was abhorr'd; which is one of the greatest Adventures in the History, and all that grand Enterprize, is made much more considerable and surprizing, by so illustrious and virtuous a Motive.

This dethron'd *Tarquinius*, who so Pathetically implores the Assistance of his Neighbours to Re-establish him; that

Image of the growing Liberty, of the novel State, after the slavery it had escap'd from; that Pleasure in the mighty Hopes of a lasting Settlement, where-with they flatter'd the Desires of the People; that ease and quiet they sensibly enjoy'd: Those Proceedings *Brutus* put them upon, to make them still more sensible, they had the Power in their own Hands, as desirous of *Ruling* as he was himself: The several Accessions of the love of that Liberty, that ripened daily through the Pleasure they began to take in Dominion: and which still increased by the Disturbances of those tempestuous Assemblies held under the *Tribunes*: those popular Commotions caus'd by the Excess of Power they had left them, which it was necessary to repress by the Creation of *Decemviri*, accustoming them insensibly to use no other Authority but that of Laws. Those petty Wars they wag'd against their Neighbours; their Successes proportion'd to their Valour and their Strength; and those *Essays* wherewith Fortune delighted to exercise that growing *Republick*, to exalt it to the height of Glory, which it arriv'd

to

Plato fomes Regis metu, agitari cupit. Tribunicis procedis. Hic. Rom. lib. 2.

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to: All these, I say, Painted in those Colours, the Historian knew how to order so admirably well, are the greatest Beauties of the first Decade; the Events whereof are mostly contain'd in *Rome*, and amongst the Neighbouring People, without going out of *Italy*: And though all is mean and little in the Beginning, according to the Nature or Fate of Things of no long Date; yet the Historian fails not to Elevate his Subject, by the Greatness of his Expression, and to inspire several Persons, he introduces, with noble Thoughts, as *Brutus* and *Manlius*, who Sacrifice their Lives to the Security and Glory of their Country. There are divers Occurrences, in the Third Book, set in a fine Light: As the Transport of young *Appius*, who so furiously carry'd off *Virginus's* Daughter, and that had like to have destroy'd *Rome*; and such Indignation the People conceiv'd at so Brutal an Action: The Havock of that horrible Attempt, is describ'd in a very passionate Air. The Adventure of the Old Senator, *Quintus Cincinnatus*; taken from the Plough, to be made *Dictator*; and the Diligence of his Wife, to make him Neat and Clean.

Cleanly, and look something like a Gentleman, and all the Circumstances of that Adventure, are very Naturally Painted. The Historian, who makes *Camillus* take up Arms against the Common-wealth, and to do himself Justice on a People jealous of his Power, but insensible of the Merit of Brave and Courageous Men, makes him speak with all the Disdain a noble Roman was capable of, when fir'd with Glory. 'Tis Rome (says he) *that calls me back, not to re-instate me in my Place, but that I may re-establish her in hers*: Which he did by the Conquest of the *Vientes*, and the taking *Veii* after Ten Years War. The Eucodium, the Historian bestows upon that Great Man, in the Seventh Book, is full of exquisite Sense; and there is somewhat very singular and rare in the Praises he gives him. The Magnanimity of young *Curius*, who all in Armour, threw himself head-long, into a vast Chasm of the Earth, which happen'd in the City, to close it up, and Appease the Gods by such a Sacrifice, is an extraordinary Ornament in the same Book. In fine, we see in the First Part of this History, a rising Neatness, that makes large Advan-

vances to its Perfection, without doing any thing unlike it self. And that One thing, well laid open, is of a singular Excellence.

The Second Decade, which is the constant Succession of that growing Glory, and of all its Progress, is intirely lost: which contain'd the Wars against *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who broke into *Italy* to Succour the *Tarentines*; and all that happen'd in those Wars, concerning the Valour and Probity of the *Romans*: Amongst which was that high Principle of Honour, which appear'd in *Fabrizius*, who Heading the *Roman* Army, in Quality of *Consul*, sent back to *Pyrrhus* his Physician, that made an Offer to the *Romans* of Poisoning his Prince, who had engag'd them in a bloody War, and was become their most terrible Enemy. Here was the first *Punick-War*, wherein *Attilius Regulus* so highly Signaliz'd his Vertue, when having been made Prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, he was dispatch'd to *Rome*, to treat of the Exchange of Prisoners of both Parties; and who out of an heroick, dis-interest'd Principle, was the First that Advis'd them not to do it, because that Exchange must needs be

be Disadvantagious to the Commonwealth, though he himself might have enjoy'd his Life and Liberty as the Fruits of it. These are the principal Subjects of the Second Decade, as appears by *Freinsbemi*'s Supplement, who hits his Character exactly, and succeeds much better in making up the Loss of *Livy*, than he has done in the Supplement of the History of *Alexander* the Great, Wrote by *Quintus Curtius*; as may be seen, if any one will give himself the trouble to Compare them.

But *Livy*'s History takes another sort of Flight, in the Third Decade, which is come to us intire; with the Fourth, and half of the Fifth. The Scene grows more lively and animated, and more astonishing, through those mightier Movements, and more important Conjunctions: For now comes the second *Panick-War*, and that Famous Expedition of *Hannibal*, Marching from his Country at the Head of an Hundred Thousand Men; to make an Assault upon the *Romans*, even at *Rome* it self.

There is nothing in other Histories comparable to the Portraiture this Author makes of the March of this General;

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ral ; 'Tis all of a Force and Expression above the common level : 'Tis the noblest Scene of the whole History, and the Consequences perfectly answer the Beginning ; where the Historian, after having Pictur'd *Hannibal*, and Represented him more Terrible, through his Vertues than his Vices, as taken up as he is with that mighty Object, he falls upon his Matter, that he may express the Particulars, and loose nothing at all of it ; every step he makes him take, in despite of Danger, as he passes the *Alps*, is terrible : All the Circumstances are dismal and ghastly, and the Picture of Danger is imprinted almost in every Word, and every Syllable. Thence he soars in the Expansion that his Subject gives him, which is so spacious, & copious, as to give him Scope for the following Books, and all the Third Decade : For *Hannibal* is the Leading Subject of it all. The most notorious Adventures of that War, are the Battle fought upon the Banks of the *Trasymenian* Lake in *Tuscany*, wherein there were above Fifty Thousand *Romans* kill'd upon the spot, and the rest of the Army taken or routed : The Battle of *Cannæ* far more Bloody

Bloody than the former, in which were above Forty-five Thousand slain. Nothing in Nature is describ'd in so moving a Strain; the Terrour and Confusion *Hannibal* casts in the Face of *Rome*, by those bloody Victories, are express'd in such a way, as never any other History could reach. There are such Draughts, and such Colours, as were unknown to all Historians besides. The Consequences of those Two Battles were still more Terrible, a general consternation run through the Heart of *Italy*; the *Romans* were Deserted by all their *Alies*; the People was Allarm'd, and the whole Body of that great Republick, till that time Victorious, was in a violent Commotion, except the Nobility and Chief Men, whom *Scipio* caus'd to Swear with a Dagger at their Throat, that neither any of them, nor the remaining Officers, should abandon the *Republick* in that present Conjunction: and there was that Fierceness at *Rome*, after that last Defeat, that it was not lawful to make mention of a Peace with *Hannibal*. Their Minds were shaken, but not dejected; and 'twas the Resolution of the Great Men

Nulla clavis significat, nulla nota, sic, p. 11. c. 1.

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Men which inspirited the People, and re-establish'd Affairs.

The Wars of *Sicily* against *Hieron* and his Sons, that of *Numidia* against *Syphax*, were the Consequents of the Second *Punick-War*. But in the Twenty-sixth Book the Historian describes the new impressions of Fear, *Hannibal* caus'd in *Rome*, when he pitch'd his Camp before the City, and advanc'd as far as the *Porta Collina* near the Temple of *Hercules*, whence he took a Turn upon the Walls, to take the Model of it. But the Conqueror of *Rome* Retreated on his own accord, and he whom the Vertue of his *Enemies* could not Vanquish, was subdued by his own *Vices*, and the Pleasures of *Capua*, where he was for some time Posted; and he was heard to say in his Retreat, that one while he only wanted an Inclination, and other time good Fortune, to make him Master of *Rome*. The Idea the Historian gives us in that Place of a *Veteran General* harden'd to the Fatigues of War, and coming to soften himself in *Italy* in the Embraces, as one may say, of Pleasure, is very agreeable, and

*Potius sibi urbis
Romanae modo mun-
deri non dari, modo
fortunae illi. Rom.
lib. 26.*

of

of an extraordinary Beauty. The Affairs of *Sicily* having oblig'd *Marcellus* to Besiege *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was there killed by Two blundering Souldiers, who took the *Diagram* of a Geometrical Demonstration he was drawing upon the Sand to be Conjuring; which is a singular and surprizing Incident in that place.

But after all, nothing is Comparable to the Picture the Author gives us of young *Scipio*, in the End of the Twenty-sixth Book; where he Represents him, Commission'd General of the *Roman* Army into *Spain*, to give a Diversion to the Progress of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. That Victorious Youth, at Twenty Four Years of Age, was of a ripe and consummate Prudence; And though he perform'd Exploits of Arms, that astonish his Enemies, tho' in One Day he took New *Carthage*, in which the *Cartaginians* had a numerous Garrison; He yet obtain'd greater Victories by his Vertue than his Valour. For when he was presented with *Mandonius's* Lady, a Prince of *Spain*, and Two of his Nieces, exceedingly Beautiful, he sent them back with these Words, *That though, for the*
I sake

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sake of his own Integrity and the publick

Mea populiq; Romani disciplina causa facerem ne quid quod sanctum usquam esset, a pud nos, violaretur: nunc ut haec curem impensius, vestra quoque virtus & dignitas facit: quae ne in malis quidem oblita decoris matronalis esset.
Lib. 26.

Discipline of Rome,
is lay upon him to secure from Violence
whatever was Sacred:
yet their own Consideration,

was still a greater Engagement to do them Justice, since in their Misfortunes they were not forgetful of themselves, nor of their Vertue: And having shew'd the same Respect to another Spanish Prince, whose Princess was presented to him, of a more accomplisht Beauty than the other, he sent her back to her Husband with a great sum of Money offer'd for her Ransome. That Prince charm'd and amaz'd, with so great Bounty, Proclaim'd in his Country, There was arriv'd in Spain, a Young

Venisse illis simillimum juvenem vincentem omnia quam armis, tum benignitate ac beneficiis.
Ibid.

Roman, Qualify'd like the Gods, that carried on

his Conquests as well by his Vertues as his Arms. Nothing can be finer; and the image the Historian gives us, of the Young Victor, produces an admirable Effect, through the Opposition he makes of his Vertue against Hannibal's Vices. 'Tis only by his good Nature and Clemency that Scipio Triumphs over the

Car.

Carthaginians, whereas *Hannibal* Triumphs over the *Romans* by Savageness and Violence. The one is Plundering *Provinces*, and Battering *Towns*, whilst the other is winning the Hearts of the People, and Captivating their Souls by his Beneficence and Goodness.

The last Books of this Decade contain the mighty Progress of *Scipio's* Arms in *Africa*: *Hannibal* is recall'd to the Succour of *Carthage*, where he was Defeated, *Carthage* taken, and *Scipio* Triumphantly return'd from *Africa* to *Rome*. Thus the End of this Decade, by its Opposition to the Beginning, where *Hannibal* drives on his Victories uncontroll'd, is one of the finest Places of the History; especially by the new Road the Young *Roman* takes to Glory, contributing more to the Conquests of the Republick, by setting in the Minds of the People the Reputation of the *Roman* Virtue, than by giving Battle: For that Reputation becoming the Admiration of the Conquer'd Nations, was more Victorious than their Arms.

After the Defeat of *Carthage*, the Glory of the *Roman* Name soar'd to a greater Height. The Victorious People,

whose Renown was spread far and near, began to be lookt upon as the Deliverer of other Nations. Thus Gloriously it is Represented by *Livy*, in the Fourth Decade. The *Athenians* Oppress'd by *Philip* (the last of the Name) King of *Macedon*, implor'd the Assistance of the Senate. *Publius Sulpicius* was sent thither, who having Subdued all *Greece*, Proclaim'd Peace to all the People by his Lieutenant *Quintius*, and restor'd them their Liberty; and in a Publick Assembly for the Celebration of this Festival,

*Esse gentem in terris,
quæ sua impensa ac peri-
culo bella gerat pro liber-
tate aliorum, maris transi-
tat, ne quod toto orbe ter-
rarum iniustum imperium
sit, ubique hoc, sui, lex
potentissima sit.* Lib. 33.

was heard that saying,
That, at last, there was
a People in the World,
born for the safety of all
others, that cross'd Seas,
made Wars at its own Cost and Peril, to
revenge the Oppress'd, to establish Laws,
causing them to be observ'd through the
whole Earth, and to maintain the publick Se-
curity.

The Historian afterward opens the
mystery how *Hannibal* became suspect-
ed by his Country-men, upon advice
that he entertain'd a constant Corre-
spondence with King *Antiochus*, to oblige
him to declare War against the *Romans*;

That

That was it which this Great Man Banish'd out of his Country, and as it were a Vagabond abroad, voted in that *Kings* Council; that if he would make War as he should do, with the *Romans*, he must attack them in their own *Territories*, and Fight them at *Rome* as he himself had done: There is a greatness of Soul, and a loftiness of Thought in what the Historian makes him speak, and fitting with the Character of *Hannibal*: 'tis in the Thirty-fourth Book. There is something Rare and Uncommon in point of Adventure in the accidental meeting of this Commander, and *Scipio* who was made *Lieutenant* to his Brother, as it is related in the following Book. Undoubtedly it creates a very agreeable surprize, as it needs must, to see two Great *Generals* who had disputed the Empire of the World at the head of two potent Armies meeting by chance at *Ephesus*, and coldly giving their Opinion as two private Men, in a Sedate, and unpassionate Discourse of the pre-eminence of the Greatest Officers, who have made the most noise in the World. In fine, *Hannibal* suspected by his Citizens, and hated by all the World, is

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constrain'd to fly to *Ephesus*: his flight contains several Adventures, which render that part of the History very Curious, as being of a Man of so great Importance, that every Step he makes is Considerable.

But the Adventure of *Scipio*, accus'd before the People by *Q. Petilius* for having Converted part of the Spoils of King *Antiochus* to his own Coffer, is more surprizing and remarkable thro' the giddiness of Fortune, and the injustice of the *Roman* People; and 'tis represented by the Historian with all the dignity so strange an Adventure does require. That Man of incomparable Vertue as well as Valour, made his Appearance at the Day prefix'd by his Accuser. But instead of making his Defense to his Accusation, presumptuous upon his own Innocence, he spoke to the People assembled, to Condemn him, with a bold and undaunted Gallantry,

and the Voice of a Conqueror: Such was the day wherein I took Carthage, beat Hannibal, and Vanquish'd the Carthaginians; let us go to the Capital, and

Extrait de la Vie de Scipion
Scipion fut accusé par *Petilius* d'avoir converti une partie des dépouilles de *Antiochus* en son particulier. Il se présenta au jour assigné pour sa défense, mais au lieu de se justifier, il parla au peuple pour le condamner. Il déclara qu'il étoit le jour où il avoit pris Carthage, vaincu Hannibal, &c.

and thank

thank the Gods. The People surpriz'd at so magnanimous a Carriage, left the *Accuser*, and followed *Scipio*: and that Day, says the Historian, was infinitely more Glorious to him, and advanc'd his Honour higher in the Opinion of the People, than that wherein he Triumphed over King *Siphan*, and the *Carthaginians*. Dissatisfy'd however with that Treatment, which manifested so much Disesteem, he Retreated to *Linternum*, a Country-seat of his towards *Capua*, where he dy'd, sometime after, in the Embraces of his Family, as a private Person. The Portraiture of *Cato*, delineated in the Thirty-ninth Book, on occasion of the Dignity of *Censor*, which he Canvas'd with the *Scipio's*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Furius*, and other Persons of note in the Senate, is a Master-piece. 'Tis pleasant to see how Resembling it all is, upon the Notion a Man has of the Austerity of Vertue in that Great Man; For that *portraiture* is so singular, in all the *features* that compose it, that whether it is *like* nothing, or whether it *resembles* its *original*, all is touch'd off with an admirable Air. That which the Historian brings him in speaking, a-

gainst the Luxury of Women, in the Thirty-fourth Book, to put in Execution the *Oppian* Law, which regulated the Expence of Habits, and retrench'd the Prodigality therein; and against the Nocturnal Devotion, describ'd in the Thirty-ninth Book, wherewith they mixt all the Horror of the most dissolute Practices, and abominable Debauchery in the World, has much of the Spirit of a rigid Censour of Manners. The Speeches he makes against the Disorders, which the Wars of *Asia* had brought into *Rome*, by infusing Effeminacy, Licentiousness, and a Prostitution of Youth, which tended to its utter Ruine, bear the Stamp of a sincere and Great Man, who contributed with the Old *Senators*, to the Preservation of that Wisdom, Probity, Hatred of Injustice, love of Equity, and horreur of Vice, which prevail'd in the Senate at that time: And all this has its Effect in the End of that Decade; where the Historian presents us with the Spirit and Character of the Republick, then subsisting. The Death of *Annibal*, who had retir'd to *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* (having Poison-

ed

ed himself to avoid falling into the Hands of *Flaminius*) is very moving at the End of the Thirty-ninth Book: One is concern'd to see so great a Man Die in such a manner; and that Particular prepar'd so finely, with such remarkable Events, is of a singular Excellence.

But it must be acknowleg'd, that nothing is more pompous or magnificent than the Entrance of the Forty-third Book, where *Livy* sets forth the Generality of the People of *Greece*, and *Asia* after the subduing *Macedonia*, sending their Embassadors to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the *Senate*, and to submit themselves to the *Republic*: All that Part is describ'd in that Triumphant Character, which usually accompanies the happy Conquerours. The Historian himself there strikes on such a Key, as lets us know he is Apprehensive of the good Fortune of his Country and the Merit of his Subject. The Defeat of *Perses* in the Forty-fourth Book, happening upon occasion of an Horse, that escap'd the Hands of his Servants, and was the Cause of the Battle, which the Two Armies, incamp'd upon the opposite Banks of a little River, would

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willingly have avoided, has something surprizing in it; and indeed nothing is finer in an History than great Events, caus'd by trifling Accidents, as this, which is very Remarkable upon the Wonder it raises.

The Oration the Embassadours of *Rhodes* make before the *Senate*, in the Forty-fifth Book, is fine, lofty and eloquent; nothing comes nearer the Discourses *Thucydides* attributes to the Deputies of States and Common-wealths, in his History of the *Peloponnesian War*: Nothing can be more fitly compar'd with him, in that very Kind in which his Excellence lay; nor is there any thing more like that manner of speaking, he gives the Towns and States whose History he Writes. *Paulus Emilius's* Voyage through *Greece*, after he had Conquer'd it, his Visiting the Provinces to observe what was Remarkable for Antiquity, or for the Rarity and Excellence of the Work, is handsomely Describ'd in the Forty-fifth Book. Every Town has its peculiar Character, its Order and Distinction; and the Historian, by giving us a fine Notion of the Country, heightens the Victories and Advantages of his own. All

All this receives an additional Greatness in the *remainder* of that History, after the Defeat of *Perfes*, which was the concluding Blow of that long and hazardous War of *Macedonia*; and the *Roman* Name was exalted to its highest Pitch of Glory. In effect, the Senate had scarce any other Employment, than the answering the Requests of *Kings*, and ordering their *Desfinies*. 'Tis no longer the *Embassadors* of *Kings* and Crowned Heads: Here are the *Kings* of *Syria* and *Aegypt*, of *Bithynia* and *Pergamus*; here is *Ptolomy*, and his Sister *Clapatra*, who make the Senate the Arbitrator of their Difference; here's King *Maffiniffe* sending his Two Sons to *Rome*, to Congratulate the Republick, in his Name, for the Defeat of *Perfes*: Here's *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, accompanying his Son *Nicomedes*, and presenting him to the Republick, to take him under its Protection: Here's *Perfes* fasten'd to *Emilius's* Chariot, with his Two Sons, to render the Triumph of the Conquerour, more Arrogant and Glorious, as had done *Gracius* King of *Illyricum*, with his Wife and Children, over-come by the Pretor *Anicius*. In fine, not to repeat what

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what I have already observ'd, at the End of the Abridgment I have made of the History in the Fifth Chapter, we may say, there is nothing Comparable to the Idea *Livy* gives of the Grandeur and Glory of the Republick in those Times: That never History went upon so great a Subject; nor ever Historian supported the Dignity of the Matter with a greater Majesty and Force of Expression. That Picture the Author draws of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, who takes Pride in being a Denizen of the *Roman* People, which he Treats, according to *Polybius*,

*Polybius cum regem indignum
majestate populi tanti tradit.
Roma quoque cum veniret in
curiam somnasse se, et osculo
limen curie contigisse et Deos
servatores suos somnum appel-
lasse, aliamque orationem non tam
honorificam audientibus quam
sibi deformem habuisse Tit Liv.
45. sub Noem.*

with the most prostituted Flattery, is well worthy of him and that Purity of of Morals he so

highly Professes: Herewith he concludes the Forty-fifth Book; for the rest of it is lost.

How Glorious, would it be, should we have the Residue of the History which is lost, and the Description of those great Transactions of the following Times, I would say the Particulars of *Scipio's* Victories, the adopted Son of

Paulus Emilius, who subdued *Africa* to the *Romans*: those times wherein *Thebes*, *Calcis*, *Corinth*, *Numantia*, were seen levell'd to the Ground, and following the Destiny of *Carthage*? Those Celebrated Wars against *Jugurtha* and *Mithridates*? Those terrible Seditions, that began to make Head in the Republick through *Cinna*, *Marinus* and *Sylla's* abusing their Power, which the Success of their Arms conspiring with that Degeneracy, Abundance and Luxury had infus'd into the Generality, and their own Fortune had given them?

What should we say, did there but remain in this mighty Work, any Track of those great Expeditions of *Sertorius* into *Spain*, of *Marinus* upon the *Cimbri* and *Tentons*, and of *Pompey* into *Asia*, *Cesar* amongst the *Gauls*, and in all the North? The mutual Jealousy of those Two Great Generals who caus'd a Civil War? The Sequels of that War, so fatal to the *Romans*, which went near the Destruction of *Rome*, by the Revolution of the Government? Finally, should we see in this Historian, those ghastly Representations of the *Republick*, ript open to her very Bowels, by the Hands of her own

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own Children? Of the *Senate* broken into Parties, of *Italy* in Distraction, and of all the Universe almost in Disorder and Confusion? Should we see the establishment of the Empire, the Death of *Cesar*, stab'd by the *Senate*, the *Triumvirate* of *Octavius*, the Defeat of *Antony*, the Triumph of *Augustus*, and all the great Objects of those unfortunate Times, which doubtless made the finest part of *Livy's* History, as being the most memorable Events of the *Roman* Common-wealth; For why should we not reckon up all the Beauties and excellent Works that came from his Hands, and were only lost through the Negligence or perhaps Ignorance, and corrupt *Palate* of the succeeding Ages.

But I pretend not to have Remark'd all the Delicacies of this Author; I have only mention'd those I my self was most Affected with; a Man must go quite through with him, that would do the Historian Justice. And to speak more freely upon the Point, he must fetch a vaster compass, than the Bounds I have prescrib'd my self would admit. This may suffice for an Essay, to Judge of the rest by, without being mistaken.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Decision of the Comparison.

AND now having examin'd the Advantages and Disadvantages of these Two Historians, Their Persons, their Genius, their Subjects, their Histories, and the Faults and Excellencies of each ; it may be determin'd which ought to have the Preference. But seeing they mutually Excel each other, in several Particulars, to hold the Balance even, and do them all the Justice that is possible, here is, in my Opinion, what we ought to think, and say of One and the Other. They are both Equally above that exact and scrupulous Niceness, which too Studiously affects a perfect Regularity ; since they were only made for great Things, and the Elevation of their Genius, would not permit them to stoop to so mean Regards. They had in the same degree of Perfection, an admirable Judgment in the Choice of their Thoughts, and in expressing

pressing them Nobly : They had an exquisite *sense* for the natural Turn of Expression, which is the effect of a mature Judgment, and they were skill'd in the *choise* of Words, which enlivened the Expressions most, and were most proper to declare their Meaning ; they were equally industrious to avoid flashy and glittering Words, and to stick to the more ordinary and significant : Both of them have more of a figurative, than a proper Style, knowing that one made greater impression than the other ; but their Discretion in this Practise was equally admirable in both, being ever happy in the Images and Representations of their Thoughts, wherein we may always discover the Foot-steps and Tracks of Nature. Thus there has been but very few Authors, every way so Accomplisht, as these Two Historians ; for there is nothing but is judiciously and happily Imagin'd in them both.

They have both a Sublimity, ever maintain'd with, and founded on Reason ; a thing not known to other Historians. They both endeavour'd to copy Nature, and this they propos'd as their main End. They are just in their Com-

parison, Easy in their Figures, and happy in their Metaphors. *Livy* is richer in his Expression, is more Copious, and fuller of Variety, and has more of those *passionate* Strokes that affect the Mind. But *Thucydides* has Expressions more *strong*, Colours more *terrible*, and Strokes more *lively*, and seems to make more forcible Impressions on the Thoughts: He likewise gives more Action and Motion to his Speech; and by inclosing a great deal of Sense in a little room, he leaves more to the Imagination and Conjecture of his Reader. But *Livy* is sure to please more, because to the force and vehemence of Expression, he adds all the sweetneses, and graces of Art, he is as Florid and Agreeable as he pleases, by the Art he has of Tempering his Discourse, with such fine and delicate Airs; by giving it those enchanting Turns; and by the Method he found out of joining to that Dignity, upon which he ever bottoms his Discourse, all the Easiness and Simplicity requisite to make it Natural. Besides that *Livy* has a greater abundance of Matter, and more order and variety in the Events he represents, there is moreover something

unrecountably *swift* and influencing in his Transitions, which renders him so smooth and easy, that in Reading him, a Man is convey'd from one Subject to another, without being sensible of the Motion; so dextrously he orders his Matters, and threads his Discourse. He marches, or makes a halt, advances, or takes breath, as his Occasion or his Pleasure is, and no Man is aware of it. The Greek is great in his Words, and *deals* in his Events, which are generally inconsiderable. The Roman is great in both, and is very singular in the Art he has of drawing out at length extraordinary Events, in all their train of Circumstances. For he postures them with Design, and collects them with Discretion, by avoiding all Superfluous Particulars; and herein it is he is generally so Alluring; for nothing engages a Reader more, than that Choice of necessary Circumstances, singled out from those that are less useful.

Nor are only his Ideas more noble, but also the Affairs he treats of, and the Adventures he describes, are of more weight and moment; and the Persons he introduces, are of a more exalted

aloud Character: For what can a Man find in *Thucydides* a March for *Marston*, and the Siege's for *Peasbury* or *Osby*; and all those mighty Names the Roman History abounds with? Again, the Verses which *Livy* proposes, present themselves in all their *formidability*, that is in their *legitimacy* and their *pageantry*; than which nothing can be more Delightful in an History; which is neither so distinct, nor sufficiently observ'd in *Thucydides*. *Livy* has a more Rich, a more beautiful, and a more fruitful Imagination; he has more fire and Brilliancy in his Expression: His Project is greater, and the contrivance of his Design more magnificent. That Majestick Strain of Talking, which is Natural to him; that Elegance he shows in little Subjects; all that admirable Art of Rhetorick, with an exquisite Choice of Words, and all those other Qualities, which distinguish him from the Rest of the World, give him a vast Advantage over *Thucydides*; who by a dry, unflattering and austere way of speaking, has nothing by way of *show* and *ornament*. Whereas the other *historian* arranges all this to himself, and practices it according to the

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necessity of his Subject, without any Appearance of Study or Affectation. And those favourable places of Eloquence, where one may play the Passions, and all those secret Engines, which move the Soul, are much frequenter in *Livy*, by reason of those great Concerns he is engag'd in; and which furnish his History.

There seems too to be in *Livy*, more Purity, better Construction; greater Order and Regularity; throughout his Discourse: Which *Thucydides* troubled not his Head with; nay, in some measure, he affected to be disorderly in his Expressions: And indeed, he talks best of War, especially of the Sea, and Naval Expeditions, having made that his Exercise and Employment. But it must be confess'd, that *Livy* gives us a better Opinion of the Romans, than *Thucydides* of the Greeks; though at the same time they have both pursu'd the Truth of the History; and the Greek *Historian* is not to be blamed, if the *Portraiture* he copies, want that Beauty which the others have; for as much as he makes too the Characters, but represents them only. It must be own'd too that the *Athenian* People

People were more intrastable, and headstrong than the Romans; because their Power was not poiz'd, with such Politick *Medians*, as was that of Rome. And that which was *laughed* in the Greeks, was true *virtue* in the Romans, and a Nobleness of Soul. *Livy* too had a great Advantage over *Thucydides*, from the Nature of his Subject; which was not only more Fortunate, but more Stately also and Magnificent: For 'tis the Emperour of the World, 'tis all the Universe he grasps into his History, whilst *Thucydides* is confined to a little piece of a Continent, an inconsiderable Spot of Ground: But this may be said in his Commendation, that he has express more Artifice in supporting the Meanness of his Subject; he has shown a great deal of Dexterity, in improving so harsh and barren a Soil, into so rich, and, in some measure, fertile a *capacity*; and herein consists the Greatness of his Merit, that he has rais'd so Disadvantageous a Subject, to so high a Value as it bears. It is true, *Livy* takes Pleasure to open the growing Grandeur of the Republick by degrees, striking always at his Mark, which is his Country's

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Glory. *Thucydides* had scarce such Thoughts in's Head; he follows the beaten Road, without turning to the Right-hand, or the Left.

Livy's Beginning bears more Proportion to the rest of his History; but however great was his Design, there is nothing haughty in the Proposition of it. *Thucydides's* Entrance on a particular History, is too *sumptuous*. It would have serv'd for an *Excursion* to a general History of all Greece, and have given us a complete Notion of it.

After all, they are Both of them mighty Artists, Admirably skill'd in expressing the Passions in their proper Characters, and natural Colours. *Livy* has a softer, and a sweeter Head; *Thucydides* has something strangely serious and grave in his way of Painting. The Morals of them both are uncorrupt, pure, exact and honest; they have great Principles of Virtue, admirable Maxims of the Publick Good, a noble Taste of Things, and are very experienced in Decency and good Breeding. To this may be added that they are Equals, and Rivals in the Love of Truth; they are Men of an untainted Honesty

of

of an inviolable Fidelity and Secrecy
on all Occasions.

One might possibly, to push the Com-
parison as far as it will go, compare
Thucydides's Description, in the begin-
ning of the Eighth Book, of the Evils,
the News of the inland Rout of the As-
chian by the Syracuse Army, with
with the Effect the News of the Battle
at Cannæ could at Rome. The Picture
Livy makes of the Consternation the
People of Rome were in, after that De-
feat, is not so Circumstanced as that
of Thucydides; but it is more grossly Ex-
press'd. There appears another Defec-
tion in the following, as in the People of
Rome, surpris'd by the Senate, and the
Grandees of the Republic; and all well
consider'd, the Latin Historians Genius
seems to have the Advantage over the
Grecian.

After all, 'tis confest, Thucydides is
much exacter in his Logic, that he is
more Pleasant in his History; that
he has greater Principles and nobler
Thoughts in several places than Livy,
and that he makes greater Impressions
on the Soul; but the other is always
more agreeable and moving; the one

gives his Colours Strength, the other Charms and Liveliness. What Masterly Strokes, what bold Expressions are in the former, what variety in the latter? *Thucydides* chooses rather to be Solid than Polite; *Livy* has found the Method of being Solid and Polite together; and of joyning all the Elegance and fineness of Words, with the Solidness of Things: The one is great on no other Bottoms than himself; the other is so, through the nature of his Subject, and his manner of treating it. The one has nothing but Strength and Vigour; The other has the Art of Tempering that Masculine Vigour with the softest Charms, such a Work as his is capable of.

Finally, to draw to a Conclusion, *Livy* has been incomparably Happier in his choice, in his project, in the performance and success of his Work; which leads the Reader step by step, from contemptible Beginnings, through extraordinary, and sometimes miraculous Events, to a Glorious end; that represents the Roman People, risen from a base and scandalous Extraction, to such a Pinnacle of Glory, as never People yet arriv'd to: This

Histo-

History displays all the Manners and Progress of that Glory, through its Obstacles and Oppositions, which make it appear the brighter; and it displays that growing Greatness, conducted to its highest Pitch and Elevation, through all the several Degrees of its Perfection. This is the thing wherein it is so Admirable: For nothing is so Charming and Delightful, as to see the Representation of the Beginnings and Birth of things, gradually increasing, and a great Design methodically accomplish'd, and brought to its Perfection: In which point, *Thucydides's* History is nothing Comparable: The *Peloponnesian* War, which is the principal Design, aims at nothing but the weakening the Two States that strive for the Empire of Greece. The succession of that War has nothing of Connexion or Coherence; it is interrupted by a multitude of Occurrences that have no Analogy to the End of it; and that End is neither happy for the One nor the other: Thus it leaves the Reader's Mind dissatisfied, at least very little satisfy'd with a Story, whereof it retains no Idea, but of *Battles* and *Orations*.

But

But if so, then the Comparison of these Two Authors is very unequal, and *Levy* has much the better of *Thucydides*; which yet I cannot absolutely agree to, if a Man considers them by themselves, and in their Personal Merit: I add too, that probably *Thucydides* had excell'd *Levy*, had he been equally Happy in the Choice of a Subject: For he is not at all inferior to him, in the general Solidity of good Sense; in that exactness, or rather severity of Reason that accompanies all he says: I question too, whether *Levy* argues always in the Justice of *Thucydides*; 'tis true, he has always a nobleness of Expression in his Narration; but 'tis to be doubted, whether he has all that Simplicity, which should go into the Character of a perfect Historian.

Thus then, to settle the Controversy, and precisely to Declare the Preference, it is requisite we return to the stating the essential Character of an Historian, and determine whether *Truth* is all that is requir'd in him; whether it is enough merely to recommend *Truth* to our Understanding, & not indeed to our Affections, by His manner of speaking and de-

scri-

cribing it; for Simplicity is all that's requir'd to a Discourse, to discover the Truth of it: But to make the Reader in love with it, when presented to him, there must be a great deal more; there must be *purity of Language, nobleness of Expression, loftiness of Thought*, and much *variety in his Narration*: It ought to be known, whether *Truth* is not charming and attractive enough, through its own *native Brightness*, and *naked Simplicity*, without the assistance of *Pains and Artifice*; and whether she is not spoil'd of her natural Ornaments, and such as really become her, by that customary Wash and Dress they bestow on her. For if so, then *Thucydides*, who has the most Plainness and Simplicity, is to be preferr'd before *Livy*; And on the contrary, if Truth ought to become Agreeable and Lovely, by the Charms and Beauty of Discourse, *Livy* must be awarded the Precedence. Here is something to exercise nice and curious Wits, to whose Sentence I refer my own, being not Confident and bold enough, my self, to pass the *Verdict*.

FINIS

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